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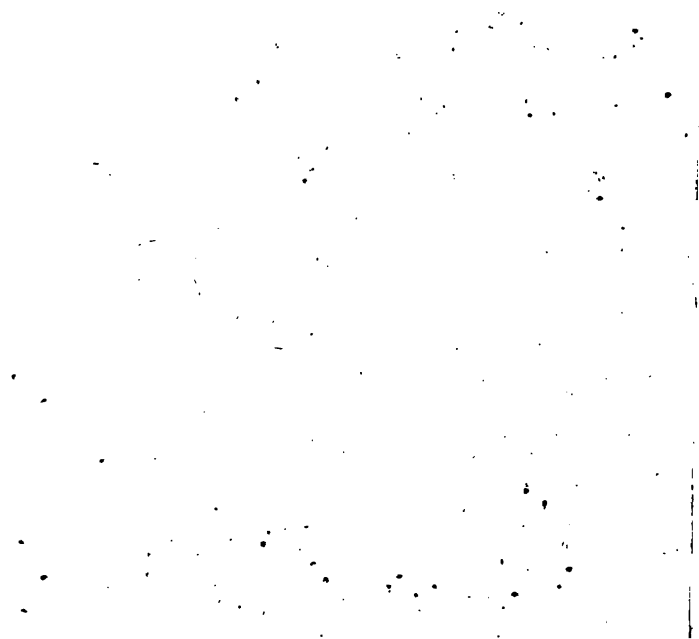


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Rollin's Ant. Hist. Vol. X.

to face the Title.



***PHILIP King of Macedon hearing his Sons
PERSEUS and DEMETRIUS.***

Published 20 June 1749 by T. & P. Knapton.

THE ANCIENT
H I S T O R Y
OF THE
EGYPTIANS,
CARTHAGINIANS,
ASSYRIANS,
BABYLONIANS,
MEDES and PERSIANS,
MACEDONIANS,
AND
GRECIANS.

By *Mr. ROLLIN*,
*Last Principal of the University of Paris, now Professor of Eloquence in the Royal
College, and Member of the Royal Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres.*

Translated from the FRENCH.

In EIGHT VOLUMES.

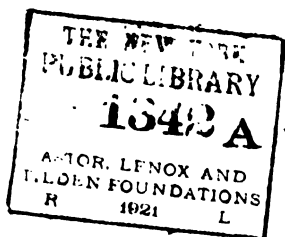
V O L. VII.

THE SIXTH EDITION,
ILLUSTRATED WITH COPPER-PLATES.

L O N D O N.

Printed for J. and F. RIVINGTON, R. BALDWIN, HAWES, CLARKE
and COLLINS, R. HORSFIELD, W. JOHNSTON, W. OWIN, T.
CASLON, S. CROWDER, C. RIVINGTON, B. LAW, G. ROBINSON,
CARNAN and NEWBERRY, and J. KNOX.

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C O N T E N T S.

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A R T I C L E II.

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The latter accepted of this offer with joy; and accorded deputies to the king, Lycortas, father of Polybius historian, and two other ambassadors. The alliance being renewed, Philopœmen, who was at that time in office, inviting Ptolemy's ambassador to a banquet, they entered discourse concerning that prince. In the praise the ambassador bestowed upon him, he expatiated very much on dexterity in the chase, his address in riding, and his vigour and activity in the exercise of his arms; and, to give an example of what he asserted, he declared, that this prince, being on horse-back, in a party of hunting, had killed a wild boar with the discharge of a single javelin.

The same year Antiochus died, Cleopatra his daughter, queen of Egypt, had a son, who reigned after Epiphanes's father, and was called Ptolemy Philometor. (c) The whole realm expressed great joy upon the birth of this prince. Cœlosyria and Palestine distinguished themselves above all provinces, and the most considerable persons of those countries went to Alexandria upon that occasion with the most splendid equipages. Josephus, of whom I have spoken elsewhere, who was receiver-general of those provinces, being too old to take such a journey, sent his youngest son, Hyrcanus, in his stead, who was a young man of abundance of wit and very engaging manners. The king and queen gave him a very favourable reception, and did him the honour to place him at their table. A buffoon, who used to divert the king with his jests, said to him; "Do but behold, sir, the quantity of bones before Hyrcanus, and your majesty may judge in what manner his father gnaws your provinces." These words made the king laugh; and he asked Hyrcanus how many bones he came to have so great a number of bones before him. "Your majesty need not wonder at that, (replied he;) for I will eat both flesh and bones, as you see the rest of the princes at your table have done, (pointing to them;) but I am contented to eat the flesh, and leave the bones like new." The mockers were mocked by that retort, and continued mute and confused. When the day for making the presents arrived, as Hyrcanus had given out, that he had only * talents to present, it was expected that he would be ill received by the king, and people diverted themselves with the thoughts of it beforehand. The greatest presents among the rest did not exceed † twenty talents. But Hyrcanus presented to the king an hundred boys, well shaped

‡

(c) Joseph. Antiq. lib. xii. c. 4.

* About 750l.

† About 3000l.

ALEXANDER'S SUCCESSORS. 3

finely dressed, whom he had bought, each of them bringing a talent as an offering; and to the queen as many girls in magnificent habits, each with a like present for that princely. The whole court was amazed at such uncommon and surpassing magnificence; and the king and queen dismissed Hircanus with the highest marks of their favour and esteem.

(d) Ptolemy, in the first year of his reign, governed in so auspicious a manner, as gained him universal approbation and applause; because he followed, in all things, the advice of Aristomenes, who was another father to him; but afterwards, the flattery of courtiers (that deadly poison to kings) prevailed over the wise counsels of that able minister. That prince shunned him, and began to give into all the vices and failings of his father. Not being able to endure the liberty which Aristomenes frequently took of advising him to act more consistently with himself, he dispatched him by poison. Having thus got rid of a troublesome censor, whose sight alone was importunate, from the tacit reproaches it seemed to make him, he abandoned himself entirely to his vicious inclinations; plunged into excesses and disorders of every kind; followed no other guides in the administration of affairs, but his wild passions; and treated his subjects with the cruelty of a tyrant.

The Egyptians, growing at last quite weary of the oppressions and injustice to which they were daily exposed, began to cabal together, and to form associations against a king who oppressed them so grievously. Some persons of the highest quality having engaged in this conspiracy, they had already formed designs for deposing him, and were upon the point of putting them in execution.

(e) To extricate himself from the difficulties in which he was now involved, he chose Polycrates for his prime minister, a man of great bravery as well as abilities, and who had the most consummate experience in affairs both of peace and war; for he had rose to the command of the army under his father, and had served in that quality in the battle of Raphia, on which occasion he had contributed very much to the victory. He was afterwards governor of the island of Cyprus; and happening to be in Alexandria when Scopas's conspiracy was discovered, the expedients he employed on that occasion conducted very much to the preservation of the state.

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(f) Ptolemy,

(d) A. M. 3820. Ant. J. C. 134. Diod. in Excerpt. p. 294.

(e) Polyb. in Excerpt. p. 113.

(f) Ptolemy, by the assistance of this prime minister, overcame the rebels. He obliged their chiefs, who were the principal lords of the country, to capitulate and submit on certain conditions. But, having seized their sons, he forfeited his promise; and, after having exercised various cruelties upon them, put them all to death. This perfidious conduct brought new troubles upon him, from which the abilities of Polycrates extricated him again.

The Achæan league, at the time we are now speaking of, seems to have been very powerful, and in great consideration. We have seen that Ptolemy, a little after his accession to the throne, had been very solicitous to renew the ancient alliance with them. This he was also very desirous of in the latter end of his reign; and accordingly offered that republick thousand shields, and two hundred talents of brass. The offer was accepted; and, in consequence of it, Lycortas and two other Achæans were deputed to him, to thank him for the presents, and to renew the alliance; and these returned soon after with Ptolemy's ambassador, in order to ratify the treaty. (g) King Eumenes also sent an embassy for the same purpose, and offered an hundred and twenty talents (about twenty-one thousand pounds sterling,) the interest of which to be applied for the support of the members of the publick council. Others came likewise from Seleucus, who in the name of their sovereign, offered ten ships of war completely equipped; and, at the same time, desired to have the ancient alliance with that prince renewed. The ambassador whom Philopœmen had sent to Rome to justify his conduct was returned from thence, and desired to give an account of his commission.

For these several reasons a great assembly was held. The first man that entered it, was Nicodemus of Elea. He gave an account of what he had said in the senate of Rome, with regard to the affair of Sparta, and the answer which had been made him. It was judged by the replies, that the senate, in reality, were not pleased with the subversion of the government of Sparta, with the demolition of the walls of that city, nor with the massacre of the Spartans; but, at the same time, that they did not annul any thing which had been enacted. And as no person happened to speak for or against the resolutions of the senate, no further mention was made of it at that time.

(f) A. M. 3821. Ant. J. C. 183. (g) A. M. 3818. Ant. J. 186. Polyb. in *Legat.* c. xiv. p. 850-852.

time. But the same affair will be the subject of much debate in the sequel.

The ambassadors of Eumenes were afterwards admitted to audience. After having renewed the alliance which had been formerly made with Attalus, that king's father; and proposed, in Eumenes's name, the offer of an hundred and twenty talents; they expatiated largely on the great friendship and tender regard which their sovereign had always shewed for the Achæans. When they had ended what they had to say, Apollonius of Sicyon rose up, and observed, that the present which the king of Pergamus offered, considered in itself, was worthy of the Achæans; but, if regard was had to the end which Eumenes proposed to himself by it, and the advantage he hoped to reap by his munificence, in that case, the republick could not accept of this present without bringing upon itself everlasting infamy, and being guilty of the greatest of prevarications. "For, in a word (continued he) as the law forbids every individual, whether of the people or of the magistrates, to receive any gift from a king upon any pretence whatsoever, the crime would be much greater, should the common-wealth, collectively, accept of Eumenes's offers. That with regard to the infamy, it was self-evident; for (says Apollonius) what could reflect greater ignominy in a council, than to receive, annually, from a king, money for its subsistence; and to assemble, in order to deliberate on publick affairs, only as so many of his pensioners, and in a manner rising from his table, after having * swallowed the bait that concealed the hook? But what dreadful consequences might not be expected from such a custom, should it be established? That afterwards Prusias, excited by the example of Eumenes, would also be liberal of his benefactions, and after him, Seleucus: that, as the interest of kings differed widely from those of the republicks, and as, in the latter, their most important deliberations related to their differences with crowned heads, two things would inevitably happen; either the Achæans would transact all things to the advantage of these princes, to the prejudice of their own country; or else, they must behave with the blackest ingratitude towards their benefactors." He concluded his speech with exhorting the Achæans to refuse the present which was offered;

B 3

and

* Polybius, by this expression, would denote, that such a pension was a kind of bait that covered a hook, that is, the design which Eu-

menes had of making all these who composed the council his dependants. Καταπικνωδίας αἰνῶνι δόσεις.

and added, "That it was their duty to take umbrage :
" Eumenes, for attempting to bribe their fidelity by such a
" offer." The whole assembly with shouts rejected unan-
mously the proposal of king Eumenes, however dazzling the
offer of so large a sum of money might be.

After this, Lycortas, and the rest of the ambassadors who
had been sent to Ptolemy, were called in; and the decree
made by that prince for renewing the alliance was read.
Aristenes, who presided in the assembly, having asked what
treaty the king of Egypt desired to renew, (several having
been concluded with Ptolemy upon very different conditions
and nobody being able to answer that question, the decision
of that affair was deferred to another time.

At last the ambassadors of Antiochus were admitted to an
audience. The king means renew the alliance which had been
concluded with him; but it was not judged expedient to ac-
cept, at that juncture, of the share he offered.

(*b*) Greece was far from enjoying a calm at this time
and complaints were carried, from all quarters, to Rome
against Philip. The senate thereupon nominated three com-
missioners, of whom Q. Cecilius was the chief, to go and take
cognizance of those affairs upon the spot.

(*c*) Philip still retained the strongest resentment against
the Romans, with whom he believed he had just reason to be
dissatisfied on many accounts; but particularly, because in
the articles of peace, he had not been allowed the liberty
taking vengeance on such of his subjects as had abandoned
him during the war. The Romans, however, had endeavoured
to console him, by permitting him to invade Atholonia,
and Amynder the king of that country; by giving
up to him some cities of Thessaly, which the Aetolians had
seized; by leaving him the possession of Demetrias and
Magnesia; and by not opposing him in his attempts upon
Thrace; all which circumstances had somewhat appeased his
anger. He continually meditated, however, to take advan-
tage of the repose which the peace afforded him, in order
to prepare for war, whenever a proper opportunity should pre-
sent itself. But the complaints that were made against him
at Rome, having been listened to there, revived all his former
disgusts.

The three commissioners being arrived at Tempe in Thes-
saly, an assembly was called there, to which came, on one
side, the ambassadors of the Thessalians, of the Perrhæbia

(*b*) A. M. 3819. Ant. J. C. 185.
2. 23—29.

(*c*) Liv. l. xxx

and Athamanians; and, on the other, Philip king of Macedonia, a circumstance that could not but greatly mortify the pride of so powerful a prince. The ambassadors explained their various complaints against Philip, with greater or less force, according to their different characters and abilities. Some, after excusing themselves for being obliged to plead against him, in favour of their liberty, intreated him to act in regard to them rather as a friend than a master; and to imitate the Romans in that particular, who endeavoured to win over their allies rather by friendship than fear. The rest of the ambassadors, being less reserved, and not so moderate, reproached him to his face, for his injustice, oppression, and usurpation; assuring the commissioners, that in case they did not apply a speedy remedy, the triumphs they had obtained over Philip, and their restoration of the Grecians inhabiting the countries near Macedonia to their liberties, would all be rendered ineffectual: that this prince *, like a fiery courser, would never be kept in and restrained without a very tight rein, and a sharp curb. Philip, that he might assume the air of an accuser rather than of one accused, inveighed heavily against those who had harangued on this occasion, and particularly against the Thessalians. He said, that like † slaves, who being made free on a sudden, contrary to all expectation, break into the most injurious exclamations against their masters and benefactors; so they abused, with the utmost insolence, the indulgence of the Romans; and were incapable, after enduring a long servitude, to make a prudent and moderate use of the liberty which had been granted them. The commissioners, after hearing the accusations and answers, the circumstances of which I shall omit as little important, and making some particular regulations, did not judge proper at that time to pronounce definitively upon their respective demands.

From thence they went to Thessalonica, to inquire into the affairs relating to the cities of Thrace; and the king, who was very much disgusted, followed them thither. Eumenes's ambassadors said to the commissioners, that if the Romans were resolved to restore the cities of Ænum and Maronea to their liberty, their sovereign was far from having a design to

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oppose

* Ut equum sternacem non parentem, frenis asperioribus castigandum esse. *Liv.*

† Insolenter & immodice abuti Thessalos indulgentia populi Romani; velut ex diuturna fuit nimis

avide meram haurientes libertatem. Ita, servorum modo præter spem repente manumissorum, licentiam vocis & lingue experiri, & jactare sese infectatione & conviciis dominorum. *Liv.*

oppose it; but that, if they did not concern themselves in regard to the condition of the cities which had been conquered from Antiochus; in that case, the service which Eumenes and Attalus his father had done Rome, seemed to require that they should rather be given up to their master than to Philip, who had no manner of right to them, but had usurped them by open force: that, besides, these cities had been given to Eumenes, by a decree of the ten commissioners whom the Romans had appointed to determine these differences. The Maronites, who were afterwards heard, inveighed in the strongest terms against the injustice and oppression which Philip's garrison exercised in their city.

Here Philip delivered himself in quite different terms from what he had done before; and directing himself personally to the Romans, declared, that he had long perceived they were fully determined never to do him justice on any occasion. He made a long enumeration of the grievous injuries he pretended to have received from them; the services he had done the Romans on different occasions; and the zeal with which he had always adhered to their interest, so far as to refuse three thousand * talents, fifty ships of war completely equipped, and a great number of cities, which Antiochus offered him, upon condition that he would conclude an alliance with him. That, notwithstanding this, he had the mortification to see Eumenes preferred on all occasions, with whom it was too great a condescension to compare himself; and that the Romans, so far from enlarging his dominions, as he thought his services merited, had even dispossessed him, as well of those cities to which he had a lawful claim, as of such as they had bestowed upon him. "You, O Romans, (says he, concluding his speech) are to consider upon what foot you intend to have me be with you. If you are determined to treat me as an enemy, and to urge me to extremities, in that case, you need only use me as you have hitherto done: but, if you still revere in my person the title and quality of king, ally, and friend, spare me, I beseech you, the shame of being treated any longer with so much indignity."

The commissioners were moved with this speech of the king. For this reason, they thought it incumbent on them to leave the affair in suspense, by making no decisive answer; and accordingly they declared, that if the cities in question had been given to Eumenes, by the decree of the ten commissioners, as he pretended they were; in that case, it was not in

is their power to reverse it in any manner: that, if Philip had acquired them by right of conquest, it was but just that he should be suffered to continue in possession of them: that if neither of these things should be proved, then the cognizance of this affair should be left to the judgement of the senate; and, in the mean time, the garrisons be drawn out of the cities, each party retaining its pretensions as before.

This regulation, by which Philip was commanded, provisionally, to withdraw his garrisons out of the respective cities, so far from satisfying that prince, so entirely discontented and enraged him, that the consequence would certainly have been an open war, if he had lived long enough to prepare for it.

(k) The commissioners, at their leaving Macedonia, went to Achaia. Aristenes, who was the chief magistrate, assembled immediately all the chiefs of the republic in Argos. Cecilius coming into this council, after having applauded the zeal of the Achæans, and the wisdom of their government on all occasions, added, that he could not forbear telling them, that their injurious treatment of the Lacedæmonians had been very much censured at Rome; and therefore he exhorted them to amend, as much as lay in their power; what they had acted imprudently against them on that occasion. The silence of Aristenes, who did not reply a single word, shewed that he was of the same opinion with Cecilius, and that they acted in concert. Diophanes of Megalopolis, a man better skilled in war than politicks, and who hated Philopœmen, without mentioning the affair of Sparta, made other complaints against him. Upon this, Philopœmen, Lycortas, and Archon, began to speak with the utmost vigour in defence of the republic. They shewed, that the whole transaction at Sparta had been conducted by prudence, and even to the advantage of the Lacedæmonians; and that, had it been otherwise, human laws, as well as the reverence due to the gods, must have been violated. When Cecilius quitted the assembly, the members of it, moved with that discourse, came to a resolution, that nothing should be changed in what had been decreed; and that this answer should be made the Roman ambassador.

When it was told Cecilius, he desired that the general assembly of the country might be convened. To this the magistrates replied, that he must first produce a letter from the senate of Rome, by which the Achæans should be desired to meet. As Cecilius had no such letter, they told him plainly

that they would not assemble; which exasperated him to such a degree, that he left Achaia, and would not hear what the magistrates had to say. It was believed that this ambassador (and before him Marcus Fulvius) would not have delivered themselves with so much freedom, had they not been sure that Aristenes and Diophanes were in their interest. And, indeed they were accused of having invited those Romans into that country, purely out of hatred to Philopœmen; and accordingly were greatly suspected by the populace.

(1) Cecilius, at his return to Rome, acquainted the senate with whatever had been transacted by him in Greece. After this, the ambassadors of Macedonia and Peloponnesus were brought in. Those of Philip and Eumenes were introduced first, and then the exiles of Ænum and Maronea; who all repeated what they had before said in the presence of Cecilius in Thessalonica. The senate, after admitting them to audience, sent to Philip other ambassadors, of whom Appius Claudius was the principal, to examine on the spot whether he was withdrawn (as he had promised Cecilius) from the cities of Perrhæbia; to command him at the same time, to evacuate Ænum and Maronea; and to draw off his troops from all the castles, territories and cities, which he possessed on the sea coast of Thrace.

They next admitted to audience Apollonidas, the ambassador whom the Achæans had sent, to give the reasons why they had not made their answers to Cecilius; and to inform the senate of all that had been transacted with regard to the Spartans, who had deputed to Rome Areus and Alcibiades, who both were of the number of the first exiles whom Philopœmen and the Achæans had restored to their country. The circumstance which most exasperated the Achæans was, to see that, notwithstanding the precious and recent obligation to their favour, they had, however, charged themselves with the odious commission of accusing those who had saved them so unexpectedly, and had procured them the invaluable blessing of returning to their houses and families. Apollonidas endeavoured to prove, that it would be impossible to settle the affairs of Sparta with greater prudence than Philopœmen and the rest of the Achæans had done; and they likewise cleared themselves, for their having refused to call a general assembly. On the other side, Areus and Alcibiades represented, in the most affecting manner, the sad calamity to which Sparta was reduced; its walls were demolished; its

(1) A. M. 3820. Ant. J. C. 184. Polyb. in Legat. c. xlii. Liv. l. xxxi. n. 33.

its citizens dragged into Achaia, and reduced to a state of captivity: the sacred laws of Lycurgus, which had made it subsist during so long a series of years, and with so much glory, had been entirely abolished.

The senate, after weighing and comparing the reasons on both sides, ordered the same ambassadors to enquire into this affair, as were nominated to inspect those of Macedon; and desired the Achæans to convene their general assembly, whenever the Roman ambassadors should require it; as the senate admitted them to audience in Rome, as often as they asked it.

(m) When Philip was informed by his ambassadors, who had been sent back to him from Rome, that he must absolutely evacuate all the cities of Thrace; in the highest degree of rage, to see his dominions contracted on every side, he vented his fury on the inhabitants of Maronea. Onomastes, who was governor of Thrace, employed Cassander, who was very well known in the city, to execute the barbarous command of the prince. Accordingly, in the dead of night, they led a body of Thracians into it, who fell with the utmost violence on the citizens, and cut a great number of them to pieces. Philip having thus wreaked his vengeance on those who were not of his faction, waited calmly for the commissioners, being firmly persuaded that no one would dare to impeach him.

Some time after, Appius arrives, who, upon being informed of the barbarous treatment which the Maronites had met with, reproached the king of Macedon, in the strongest terms, on that account. The latter resolutely asserted, that he had not been concerned in any manner in that massacre, but that it was wholly occasioned by an insurrection of the populace. "Some," says he, "declaring for Eumenes, and others for me, a great quarrel arose, and they butchered one another." He went so far as to challenge them to produce any person, who pretended to have any articles to lay to his charge. But who would have dared to impeach him? His punishment had been immediate; and the aid he might have expected from the Romans was too far off. *It is to no purpose, says Appius to him, for you to apologize for yourself; I know what things have been done, as well as the authors of them.*

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(m) Polyb. in Legat. c. xlv. Liv. l. xxxix. n. 34, 35.

By the decree of the Achæans, and all Læstia; in default of which, it had been enacted, that such slaves the Achæans were empowered to seize as had been sold among the citizens and sell them as slaves, which had accordingly been executed.

them. These words gave Philip the greatest anxiety. However, matters were not carried farther at this first interview.

But Appius, the next day, commanded him to send immediately Onomastes and Cassander to Rome, to be examined by the senate on the affair in question, declaring, that there was no other way left for him to clear himself. Philip, upon receiving this order, changed colour, wavered within himself, and hesitated a long time before he made answer. At last, he declared that he would send Cassander whom the commissioners suspected to be the contriver of the massacre: but he was determined not to send Onomastes, who (he declared) so far from having been in Maronea at the time this bloody tragedy happened, was not even in the neighbourhood of it. The true reason of this conduct was, Philip was afraid lest Onomastes, in whom he reposed the utmost confidence, and had never concealed any thing from, should betray him to the senate. As for Cassander, the instant the commissioners had left Macedon, he put him on board a ship; but, at the same time, sent some persons after him, who poisoned him in Epirus.

After the departure of the commissioners, who were fully persuaded that Philip had contrived the massacre in Maronea, and was upon the point of breaking with the Romans; the King of Macedon reflecting in his own mind, and with his friends, that the hatred he bore the Romans, and the strong desire he had to wreak his vengeance on that people, must necessarily soon display itself; would have been very glad to take up arms immediately, and declare war against that people; but, being not prepared, he conceived an expedient to gain time. Philip resolved to send his son Demetrius to Rome, who, having been many years a hostage, and having acquired great esteem in that city, he judged very well qualified either to defend him against the accusations with which he might be charged before the senate, or apologize for such faults as he really had committed.

He accordingly made all the preparations necessary for this embassy, and nominated several friends to attend the prince his son on that occasion.

He, at the same time, promised to succour the Byzantines; not that he was sincerely desirous of defending them, but only his bare advancing to aid that people would strike terror into the petty princes of Thrace, in the neighbourhood of the Propontis, and would prevent their opposing the resolution he had formed of entering into war against the Romans. And
accord-

dingley he defeated those petty sovereigns in a battle, and prisoner their chief, whereby he put it out of their power to annoy him, and returned into Macedon.

) The arrival of the Roman commissioners was expected Ioponnesus, who were commanded to go from Macedon Achaia. Lycortas, in order that an answer might be ready to him, summoned a council, in which the affair of the Lacedæmonians was examined. He represented to the assembly such things as they might fear from them; the Romans being to favour their interest much more than that of the Achæans. He expatiated chiefly on the ingratitude of Areus Alcibiades, who, though they owed their return to the Achæans, had however been so base as to undertake the war against them to the senate, where they acted and spoke professed enemies; as if the Achæans had drove them from their country, when it was they who had restored them.

Upon this, great shouts were heard in every part of the assembly, and the president was desired to bring the affair to immediate deliberation. Nothing prevailing but a passion and a thirst of revenge, Areus and Alcibiades were condemned to die.

The Roman commissioners arrived a few days after, and a council met at Clitor in Arcadia. This filled the Achæans with the utmost terror; for, seeing Areus and Alcibiades, whom they had just before condemned to die, arrive with the commissioners, they naturally supposed that the enquiry which was going to be made would be no way favourable to them.

Appian then told them, that the senate had been strongly affected with the complaints of the Lacedæmonians, and could not disapprove of every thing which had been done on that occasion: the murder of those who, on the promise which Philopœmen had made them, had come to plead their cause; the demolition of the walls of Sparta; the abolition of laws and institutions of Lycurgus, which had spread the glory of that city throughout the world, and made it flourish several ages.

Lycortas, as president of the council, and as having joined Philopœmen, the author of whatever had been transacted against Lacedæmonia, undertook to answer Appian. He declared first, that as the Lacedæmonians had attacked the Romans, contrary to the tenor of the treaty, which expressly forbade them to make any attempt against the maritime cities; that exiles, in the absence of the Romans, could have recourse only to the Achæan league, which could not be justly accused,

accused, for having assisted them, to the utmost of their power, in so urgent a necessity. That, with regard to the massacre which Appius laid to their charge, they ought not to be accused for it, but the exiles, who were then headed by Areus and Alcibiades; and who, by their own immediate impulse, and without being authorized in any manner by the Achæans, had fallen with the utmost fury and violence on those whom they supposed had been the authors of their banishment, and to whom the rest of the calamities they had suffered were owing. "However," added Lycortas, "it is pretended that we cannot but own that we were the cause of the abolition of Lycurgus's laws, and the demolition of the walls of Sparta. This, indeed, is a real fact; but then, how can this double objection be made to us at the same time? The walls in question were not built by Lycurgus, but by tyrants, who erected them some few years ago, not for the security of the city, but for their own safety, and to enable themselves to abolish, with impunity, the discipline and regulation so happily established by that wise legislator. Were it possible for him to rise now from the grave, he would be overjoyed to see those walls destroyed, and say, that he now knows and owns his native country and ancient Sparta. You should not, O citizens of Sparta, have waited for Philopœmen or the Achæans; but ought yourselves to have pulled down those walls with your own hands, and destroyed even the slightest trace of tyranny. These were a kind of ignominious scars of your slavery: and, after having maintained your liberties and privileges during almost eight hundred years; and been for some time the sovereigns of Greece, without the support and assistance of walls; they, within these hundred years, have become the instruments of your slavery, and, in a manner, your shackles and fetters. With respect to the ancient laws of Lycurgus, they were suppressed by the tyrants; and we have only substituted our own, by putting you upon a level with us in all things."

Addressing himself afterwards to Appius, "I cannot forbear owning," says he, "that the words I have hitherto spoke, were not as from one ally to another; nor of a free nation, but as slaves who speak to their master. For, in fine, if the voice of the herald, who proclaimed us to be free in the front of the Grecian states, was not a vain and empty ceremony; if the treaty concluded at that time be real and solid; if you are desirous of sincerely preserving

"an

" an alliance and friendship with us; on what can that infinite
 " disparity, which you suppose to be between you Romans
 " and we Achæans, be grounded? I do not enquire into the
 " treatment which Capua met with, after you had taken
 " that city: Why then do you examine into our usage of the
 " Lacedæmonians, after we had conquered them? Some of
 " them were killed: and I will suppose that it was by us.
 " But, did not you strike off the heads of several Campanian
 " senators? We levelled the walls of Sparta with the ground;
 " but as for you, Romans, you not only dispossessed the
 " Campanians of their walls, but of their city and lands.
 " To this I know you will reply, that the equality expressed
 " in the treaties between the Romans and Achæans is merely
 " specious, and a bare form of words: that we really
 " have but a precarious and derivative liberty, but that the
 " Romans are possessed of authority and empire. This,
 " Appius, I am but too sensible of. However, since we must
 " be forced to submit to this, I intreat you at least, how
 " wide a difference soever you may set between yourselves and
 " us, not to put your enemies and our own upon a level with
 " us, who are your allies; especially, not to shew them
 " better treatment. They require us, by forswearing our-
 " selves, to dissolve and annul all we have enacted by oath;
 " and to revoke that, which by being written in our records,
 " and engraved on marble, in order to preserve the remem-
 " brance of it eternally, is become a sacred monument, which
 " it is not lawful for us to violate. We revere you, O Romans;
 " and if you will have it so, we also fear you; but then, we
 " think it glorious to have a greater reverence, and fear for
 " the immortal gods."

The greatest part of the assembly applauded this speech,
 and all were unanimous in their opinion, that he had spoke
 like a true magistrate; it was therefore necessary for the
 Romans to act with vigour, or resolve to lose their authority.
 Appius, without descending to particulars, advised them,
 whilst they still enjoyed their freedom, and had not received
 any orders, to make a merit, with regard to the Romans, of
 making that their own decree, which might afterwards be en-
 joined them. They were grieved at these words; but were
 instructed by them, not to persist obstinately in the refusal of
 what should be demanded. All they therefore desired was,
 that the Romans would decree whatever they pleased with re-
 gard to Sparta; but not to oblige the Achæans to break their
 oath, by annulling their decree themselves. As to the sen-

tence

tence that was just before passed against Areus and Alcibiades; it was immediately repealed.

(o) The Romans pronounced judgment the year following. The chief articles of the ordinance were, that those persons who had been condemned by the Achæans should be recalled and restored; that all sentences relating to this affair should be repealed, and that Sparta should continue a member of the Achæan league. (p) Pausanias adds an article not taken notice of by Livy, that the walls which had been demolished should be rebuilt. Q. Marcius was appointed commilitary, to settle the affairs of Macedon, and those of Peloponnesus, where great feuds and disturbance subsisted, especially between the Achæans on one side, and the Messenians and Lacedæmonians on the other. (q) They all had sent ambassadors to Rome; but it does not appear that the senate was in any great haste to put an end to their differences. The answer they made to the Lacedæmonians was, that the Romans were determined not to trouble themselves any further about their affairs. The Achæans demanded aid of the Romans against the Messenians, pursuant to the treaty; or at least, not to suffer arms or provisions to be transported out of Italy, to the latter people. It was answered them that when any cities broke their alliance with the Achæans, the senate did not think itself obliged to enter into those disputes; for that this would open a door to ruptures and divisions, and even, in some measure, give a sanction to them.

In these proceedings appears the artful and jealous policy of the Romans, which tended solely to weaken Philip and the Achæans, of whose power they were jealous; and who covered their ambitious designs with the specious pretence of succouring the weak and oppressed.

SECT. X. PHILOPOEMEN *besieges Messene. He is taken prisoner and put to death by the Messenians. Messene surrendered to the Achæans. The splendid funeral procession of PHILOPOEMEN, whose ashes are carried to Megalopolis. Sequel of the affair relating to the Spartan exiles. The death of PTOLEMY EPIPHANES, who is succeeded by PHILOMETOR his son.*

(r) **D**INOCRATES the Messenian, who had a particular enmity to Philopœmen, had drawn off Messene from the Achæan league; and was meditating how he

(o) Liv. l. xxxi. n. 48. (p) In Achaia: p. 414. (q) Po'yb. in Legat. c. li. (r) A. M. 3821. Ant. J. C. 183. Liv. l. xxxix. n. 43. Plut. in Philop. p. 366—368. Polyb. in Legat. c. lii, liii.

he might best seize upon a considerable post, called Corone, near that city. Philopœmen, then seventy years of age, and generalissimo of the Achæans for the eighth time, lay sick. However, the instant the news of this was brought him, he set out, notwithstanding his indisposition, made a counter-march, and advanced towards Messene with a small body of forces, consisting of the flower of the Megalopolitan youth. Dinocrates, who had marched out against him, was soon put to flight: but 500 troopers, who guarded the open country of Messene, happening to come up and reinforce him, he faced about and routed Philopœmen. This general, who was solicitous of nothing but to save the gallant youths that had followed him in this expedition, performed the most extraordinary acts of bravery; but happening to fall from his horse, and receiving a deep wound in the head, he was taken prisoner by the enemy, who carried him to Messene. Plutarch considers this ill fortune of Philopœmen, as the punishment for some rash and arrogant words that had escaped him upon his hearing a certain general applauded: *Ought that man, says he, to be valued, who suffers himself to be taken alive by the enemy, whilst he has arms to defend himself?*

Upon the arrival of the first news which was carried to Messene, viz. That Philopœmen was taken prisoner, and on his way to that city, the Messenians were in such transports of joy, that they all ran to the gates of the city; not being able to persuade themselves of the truth of what they heard, till they saw him themselves, so greatly improbable did this relation appear to them. To satisfy the violent curiosity of the inhabitants, many of whom had not yet been able to get a sight of him, they were forced to shew the illustrious prisoner on the theatre, where multitudes came to see him. When they beheld Philopœmen dragged along in chains, most of the spectators were so much moved to compassion, that the tears trickled from their eyes. There even was heard a murmur among the people, which resulted from humanity and a very laudable gratitude; "That the Messenians ought to call to mind the great services done by Philopœmen, and his preserving the liberty of Achaia, by the defeat of Nabis the tyrant." But the magistrates did not suffer him to be long exhibited in this manner, lest the pity of the people should be attended with ill consequences. They therefore took him away on a sudden; and, after consulting together, caused him to be conveyed to a place called *the treasury*. This was a subterraneous place, whither neither light nor air entered from without; and had no door to it, but was shut with

a huge stone that was rolled over the entrance of it. In this dungeon they imprisond Philopœmen, and posted a guard round every part of it.

As soon as it was night, and all the people were withdrawn, Dinocrates caused the stone to be rolled away, and the executioner to descend into the dungeon with a dose of poison to Philopœmen, commanding him not to stir till he had swallowed it. The moment the illustrious Megalopolitan perceived the first glimmerings of light, and saw the man advance towards him, with a lamp in one hand and a sword in the other, he raised himself with the utmost difficulty (for he was very weak) sat down, and then taking the cup, he enquired of the executioner, whether he could tell what was become of the young Megalopolitans his followers, particularly Lycortas? The executioner answering, that he heard almost all of them had saved themselves by flight; Philopœmen thanked him by a nod, and looking kindly on him, *You bring me, says he, good news; and I find we are not entirely unfortunate:* after which, without breathing the least complaint, he swallowed the dreadful dose, and laid himself again on his cloak. The poison was very speedy in its effects; for Philopœmen being extremely weak and feeble, he expired in a moment.

When the news of his death spread among the Achæans, all their cities were inexpressibly afflicted and dejected. Immediately all their young men who were of age to bear arms, and all their magistrates, came to Megalopolis. Here a grand council being summoned, it was unanimously resolved not to delay a moment the revenge of so horrid a deed; and, accordingly, having elected on the spot Lycortas for their general, they advanced with the utmost fury into Messene, and filled every part of it with blood and slaughter. The Messenians, having now no refuge left, and being unable to defend themselves by force of arms, sent a deputation to the Achæans, to desire that an end might be put to the war, and to beg pardon for their past faults. Lycortas, moved at their intreaties, did not think it advisable to treat them as their furious and insolent revolt seemed to deserve. He told them, that there was no other way for them to expect a peace, but by delivering up the authors of the revolt, and of the death of Philopœmen; to submit all their affairs to the disposal of the Achæans, and to receive a garrison into their citadel. These conditions were accepted, and executed immediately. Dinocrate, to prevent the ignominy of dying by an executioner, laid violent hands on himself, in which he was imitated by
all

all those who had advised the putting Philopœmen to death. Lycortas caused those to be delivered up, who had advised the insulting of Philopœmen. These were undoubtedly the persons who were stoned round his tomb, as we shall soon see.

The funeral obsequies of Philopœmen were then solemnized. After the body had been consumed by the flames, his ashes laid together, and deposited in an urn, the train set out for Megalopolis. This procession did not so much resemble a funeral as a triumph; or rather it was a mixture of both. First came the infantry, their brows adorned with crowns, and all shedding floods of tears. Then followed the Messenian prisoners bound in chains: afterwards the general's son, young * Polybius, carrying the urn adorned with ribbons and crowns, and accompanied by the noblest and most distinguished Achæans. The urn was followed by all the cavalry, whose arms glittered magnificently, and whose horses were all richly caparisoned, who closed the march, and did not seem too much dejected at this mournful scene, nor too much elate from their victory. All the inhabitants of the neighbouring towns and villages flocked to meet the procession, as if they came in honour of a victory obtained. All possible honours were done to Philopœmen at his interment, and the Messenian captives were stoned round his sepulchre. The cities in general, by decrees enacted for that purpose, ordered all the greatest honours to be paid him, and erected many statues to him with magnificent inscriptions.

Several † years after, at the time that Corinth was burnt and destroyed by Mummius the proconsul, a false accuser (a Roman) as I observed elsewhere, used his utmost endeavours to get them broke to pieces; prosecuted him criminally, as if alive; charging him with having been an enemy to the Romans, and of discovering a hatred for them on all occasions. The cause was heard in council before Mummius. The slanderer exhibited all his articles of impeachment, and expatiated on them. They were answered by Polybius, who refuted them with great solidity and eloquence. It is great pity so affecting a piece should have been lost. Neither Mummius, nor his council, would permit the monuments of that great man's glory to be destroyed, though he had opposed, like a bulwark, the successes of the Romans: for the Romans of that age, says Plutarch, made the just and proper disparity between virtue and interest; they distinguished the glorious

* This was Polybius the historian, who then might be about two-and-twenty.
† Thirty-seven years.

rious and honest from the profitable; and were persuaded, that worthy persons ought to honour and revere the memory of men who signalized themselves by their virtue, though they had been their enemies.

Livy tells us, that the Greek as well as Roman writers observe, that three illustrious men, Philopœmen, Hannibal, and Scipio, happened to die in the same year or thereabouts; thus putting Philopœmen in parallel, and, as it were, upon a level, with the two most celebrated generals of the two most powerful nations in the world. I believe I have already given the reader a sufficient idea of his character, so shall only repeat what I before observed, that Philopœmen was called the last of the Greeks, as Brutus was said to be the last of the Romans.

The Messenians, by their imprudent conduct, being reduced to the most deplorable condition, were, by the goodness and generosity of Lycortas and the Achæans, restored to the league from which they had withdrawn themselves. Several other cities, which, from the example they set them, had also renounced it, renewed their alliance with it. Such commonly is the happy effect which a reasonable act of clemency produces; whereas a violent and excessive severity, that breathes nothing but blood and vengeance, often hurries people to despair; and so far from proving a remedy to evils, only enflames and exasperates them the more.

When news came to Rome, that the Achæans had happily terminated their war with the Messenians, the ambassadors were addressed in terms quite different from those which had been used to them before. The senate told them, that they had been particularly careful not to suffer either arms or provisions to be carried from Italy to Messene; an answer which manifestly discovers the innuendo of the Romans, and the little regard they had to faith in their transactions with other nations. They seemed, at first, desirous of giving the signal to all the cities engaged in the Achæan league, to take up arms; and now they endeavoured to flatter the Achæans into an opinion, that they had sought all opportunities to serve them.

It is manifest on this occasion, that the Roman senate consented to what had been transacted, because it was not in their power to oppose it; that they wanted to make a merit of this with regard to the Achæans, who possessed almost the whole force of Peloponnesus; that they were very cautious of giving the least umbrage to this league, at a time when they could not depend in any manner on Philip; when the Ætolians

were disgusted, and when Antiochus, by joining with that people, might engage in some enterprize which might have been of ill consequence to the Romans.

(s) I have related Hannibal's death in the history of the Carthaginians. After his retiring from Antiochus's court, he fled to Prusias king of Bithynia, who was then at war with Eumenes king of Pergamus. Hannibal did that prince great service. Both sides prepared for a naval engagement, on which occasion Eumenes's fleet consisted of a much greater number of ships than that of Prusias. But Hannibal opposed stratagem to force. He had got together a great number of venomous serpents, and filled several earthen vessels with them. The instant the signal for battle was given, he commanded the officers and sailors to fall upon Eumenes's galley only, (informing them at the same time of a sign by which they should distinguish it from the rest;) and to annoy the enemy no otherwise than by throwing the earthen vessels into the rest of the galleys. At first this was only laughed at; the sailors not imagining that these earthen vessels could be of the least service: but when the serpents were seen gliding over every part of the galleys, the soldiers and rowers, now studious only of preserving themselves from those venomous creatures, did not once think of the enemy. In the mean time, the royal galley was so warmly attacked, that it was very near being taken; and it was with the utmost difficulty that the king made his escape. Prusias, by Hannibal's assistance, gained several victories by land. This prince being one day afraid to venture a battle, because the victims had not been propitious; *What* *, says Hannibal, *do you rely more upon the liver of a beast than upon the counsel of Hannibal?* To prevent his falling into the hands of the Romans, who required Prusias to deliver him up, he took a dose of poison, which brought him to his end.

(t) I before observed that the Romans, among many other articles, had decreed, that Sparta should be admitted into the Achæan league. The ambassadors being returned, and having reported the answer which had been received from the senate, Lycortas assembled the people at Sicyon, to deliberate whether Sparta should be admitted into the Achæan league.

(s) Liv. l. xxxix. n. 51. Cor. Nep. in Annib. c. x.—xii. Justin. l. xxxii. c. 4. (t) A. M. 3822. Ant. J. C. 182. Polyb. in Leg. c. liii.

• An tu, inquit, vitulinæ ca- jecinori longo experimento testatam
suncula, quam imperatori veteri gloriam suam postponi, æquo animo
mavis credere? — Unius hostiæ non tulit. Val. Max. l. iii. c. 7.

league. To incline the populace to it, he represented that the Romans, to whose disposal that city had been abandoned, would no longer be burthened with it: that they had declared to the ambassadors, that they were no ways concerned in this affair: that the Spartans, in the administration of the publick affairs, were very desirous of that union, which (he observed) could not fail of being attended with great advantage to the Achæan league, as the first exiles, who had behaved with great ingratitude and impiety towards them, would not be included in it; but would be banished from the city, and other citizens substituted in their room. But Diophanes and some other persons undertook to defend the cause of the exiles. However, notwithstanding their opposition, the council decreed that Sparta should be admitted into the league, and was so accordingly. With regard to the first exiles, those only were pardoned, who could not be convicted of engaging in any attempt against the Achæan republick.

When the affair was ended, ambassadors were sent to Rome, in the name of all the parties concerned. The senate, after giving audience to those sent by Sparta and by the exiles, said nothing to the ambassadors, which tended to shew that they were disgusted in any manner at what had passed. With respect to those who had been lately sent into banishment, the senate promised to write to the Achæans, to obtain leave for them to return into their native country. Some days after, Bippus, the Achæan deputy, being arrived in Rome, was introduced into the senate; and there gave an account of the manner in which the Messenians had been restored to their former state: and the senators were not only satisfied with every thing he related to them, but treated him with abundant marks of honour and amity.

(u) The Lacedæmonian exiles were no sooner returned from Rome into Peloponnesus, but they delivered to the Achæans the letters which the senate had sent by them, and by which they were desired to permit the exiles to settle again in their native country. It was answered, that the purport of those letters should be considered at the return of the Achæan ambassadors from Rome. Bippus arrived from thence a few days after, and declared that the senate had wrote in favour of the exiles, not so much out of affection for them, as to get rid of their importunities. The Achæans hearing this, thought it requisite not to make any change in what had been decreed.

(x) Hypera

(u) A. M. 3823. Ant. J. C. 181. Polyb in Leg. c. liv.

(x) Hyperbates having been re-elected general of the Achæans, again debated in the council, whether any notice should be taken of the letters which the senate had wrote, concerning the re-establishment of the exiles who had been banished from Sparta. Lycortas was of opinion, that the Achæans ought to adhere to what had been decreed. "When the Romans," says he, "listen favourably to such complaints and intreaties of unfortunate persons, as appear to them just and reasonable, they, in this, act a very just part. But when it is represented to them, that among the favours which are requested at their hands, some are not in their power to bestow, and others would reflect dishonour, and be very prejudicial to their allies; on these occasions they do not use to persist obstinately in their opinions, or exact from such allies an implicit obedience to their commands. This is exactly our case at present. Let us inform the Romans, that we cannot obey their orders without infringing the sacred oaths we have taken, without violating the laws on which our league is founded; and then they will undoubtedly wave their resolutions, and confess, that it is with the greatest reason we refuse to obey their commands." Hyperbates and Callicrates were of a contrary opinion. They were for having implicit obedience paid to the Romans; and declared, that all laws, oaths, and treaties, ought to be sacrificed to their will. In this contrariety of opinions, it was resolved that a deputation should be sent to the senate, in order to represent the reasons given by Lycortas in council. Callicrates, Lyliades, and Aratus, were the ambassadors to whom instructions were given in conformity to what had been deliberated.

When these ambassadors were arrived at Rome, Callicrates being introduced into the senate, acted in direct opposition to his instructions. He not only had the assurance to censure those who had differed in opinion from him, but took the liberty to tell the senate what they should do. "If the Greeks," says he, directing himself to the senators, "do not obey you; if they pay no regard either to the letters or orders which you send them, you must blame yourselves only for it. In all the states of Greece, there are now two parties; one of which asserts, that all your orders ought to be obeyed; and that laws and treaties, in a word, that all things should pay homage to your will and pleasure: the other party pretends, that it is fitting that laws, treaties,

“ ties, and oaths, ought to take place of your will; and
 “ for ever exhorting the people to adhere inviolably
 “ them. Of these two parties, the last suits best with
 “ genius and character of the Achæans, and has the greater
 “ influence over the people. What is the consequence
 “ this? Those who comply with your measures are deterred
 “ by the common people, whilst such as oppose
 “ decrees are honoured and applauded. Whereas, if
 “ senate would shew ever so little favour to such as espouse
 “ their interest cordially, the chief magistrates and oil
 “ of all the republicks would declare for the Romans;
 “ the people, intimidated by this, would soon follow
 “ example. But, whilst you shew an indifference on
 “ head, all the chiefs will certainly oppose you, as the
 “ fallible means of acquiring the love and respect of
 “ people. And accordingly we see, that many people
 “ whose only merit consists in their making the strongest
 “ opposition to your orders, and a pretended zeal for
 “ defence and preservation of the laws of their country
 “ have been raised to the most exalted employments in
 “ country. In case you do not much value whether
 “ Greeks are, or are not, at your devotion, then, in
 “ your present conduct suits exactly your sentiments. If
 “ you would have them execute your orders, and receive
 “ your letters with respect, reflect seriously on this matter
 “ otherwise be assured that they will, on all occasions
 “ clare against your commands. You may judge of the
 “ truth of this from their present behaviour towards
 “ How long is it since you commanded them, by your
 “ ters, to recall the Lacedæmonian exiles? Nevertheless
 “ far from recalling them, they have published a quite
 “ contrary decree, and have bound themselves by oath
 “ to reinstate them. This ought to be a lesson to you,
 “ shew how cautious you should be for the future.”

Callicrates, after making this speech, withdrew.
 exiles then came in, told their business in few words
 but in such as were well adapted to move compassion,
 then retired.

A speech so well calculated to favour the interest of Rome
 as that of Callicrates, could not but be very agreeable to
 the senate. In this did the Greeks begin to throw themselves
 spontaneously into the arms of slavery; prostituted the liberty
 of which their ancestors had been so exceedingly jealous
 paid a submission and homage to the Romans, which
 they had always refused to the *Great King* of Persia.

flat

flatterers and ambitious traitors, regardless of every thing but their interest, sold and sacrificed the independence and glory of Greece for ever; discovered the weak side of republics with regard to their domestick affairs; pointed out the methods by which they might be weakened, and at last crushed; and furnished themselves the chains in which they were to be bound.

In consequence of this speech, it was soon concluded, that it would be proper to increase the power and credit of those who made it their business to defend the authority of the Romans, and to humble such as should presume to oppose it. Polybius observes, that this was the first time that the fatal resolution was taken, to humble and depress those who, in their respective countries, had the most noble way of thinking; and, on the contrary, to heap riches and honours on all such who, either right or wrong, should declare in favour of the Romans; a resolution, which soon after increased the herd of flatterers in all republics, and very much lessened the number of the true friends of liberty. From this period, the Romans made it one of the constant maxims of their policy, to oppress by all possible methods whoever ventured to oppose their ambitious projects. This single maxim may serve as a key to the latent principles and motives of the government of this republick, and to shew us what idea we ought to entertain of the pretended equity and moderation they sometimes display, but which does not long support itself, and of which a just judgment cannot be formed but by the consequences.

To conclude, the senate, in order to get the exiles restored to their country, did not only write to the Achæans, but to the Ætolians, Epirots, Athenians, Bœotians, and Acarnanians, as if they intended to incense all Greece against the Achæans. And, in their answer to the ambassadors, they did not make the least mention of any one but Callicrates, whose example the senate wished the magistrates of all other cities would follow.

That deputy, after receiving this answer, returned in triumph, without reflecting that he was the cause of all the calamities which Greece, and particularly Achaia, were upon the point of experiencing. For hitherto, a sort of equality had been observed between the Achæans and Romans, which the latter thought fit to permit, out of gratitude for the considerable services the Achæans had done them; and for the inviolable fidelity with which they had adhered to them, in the most perilous junctures, as in the wars against Philip and

Antiochus. The members of this league distinguished themselves at that time in a most conspicuous manner by their authority, their forces, their zeal for liberty; and, above all, by the shining merit and exalted reputation of their commanders. But Callicrates's treason, for we may justly bestow that name upon it, gave it a deadly wound. The Romans, says Polybius, noble in their sentiments, and full of humanity, are moved at the complaints of the wretched, and think it their duty to afford their aid to all who fly to them for protection; and this it was that inclined them to favour the cause of the Lacedæmonian exiles. But if any one, on whose fidelity they may safely depend, suggests to them the inconveniences they would bring upon themselves, should they grant certain favours; they generally return to a just way of thinking, and correct, so far as lies in their power, what they may have done amiss. Here, on the contrary, Callicrates studies nothing but how he may best work upon their passions by flattery. He had been sent to Rome, to plead the cause of the Achæans, and by a criminal and unparalleled prevarication, he declares against his superiors; and becomes the advocate of their enemies, by whom he had suffered himself to be corrupted. At his return to Achæia, he spread so artfully the terror of the Roman name, and intimidated the people to such a degree, that he got himself elected captain-general. He was no sooner invested with this command, but he restored the exiles of Lacedæmonia and Messene to their country.

Polybius, on this occasion, praises exceedingly the humanity of the Romans, the tenderness with which they listen to the complaints of the unfortunate, and their readiness to atone for such unjust actions as they may have committed, when they are once made acquainted with them. I know not whether the applauses he gives them will not admit of great abridgement. The reader must call to mind that he wrote this in Rome, and under the eye of the Romans, after Greece had been reduced to a state of slavery. We are not to expect from an historian, who is subject and dependent, so much veracity as he very possibly would have observed in a free state, and at a time when men were permitted to speak the truth; and we must not blindly believe every circumstance of this kind advanced by him; facts have more force, and speak in a clearer manner than he does. The Romans themselves did not scruple to commit injustice, whenever they had an opportunity of employing a foreign means for

for that purpose, which procured them the same advantage, and served to conceal their unjust policy.

(*y*) Eumenes, in the mean time, was engaged in war against Pharnaces, king of Pontus. The latter took Sinope, a very strong city of Pontus, of which his successors remained possessors ever afterwards. Several cities made complaints against this at Rome. Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, who was united in interest with Eumenes, sent also ambassadors thither. The Romans several times employed their mediation and authority, to put an end to their differences; but Pharnaces was insincere on these occasions, and always broke his engagements. Contrary to the faith of treaties, he took the field, and was opposed by the confederate kings. Several enterprizes ensued; and after some years had been spent in this manner, a peace was concluded.

(*z*) Never were more embassies sent than at the time we are now speaking of. Ambassadors were seen in all places, either coming from the provinces to Rome, or going from Rome to the provinces; or from the allies and nations to one another. (*a*) The Achæans deputed, in this quality (to Ptolemy Epiphanes, king of Egypt) Lycortas, Polybius his son, and the young Aratus, to return that monarch thanks for the presents he had already bestowed on their republic, and the new offers he had made them. However, these ambassadors did not leave Achæa, because when they were preparing to set out, advice came that Ptolemy was dead.

(*b*) This prince, after having overcome the rebels within his kingdom, as has been already mentioned, resolved to attack Seleucus, king of Syria. When he began to form the plan for carrying on this war, one of his principal officers asked, by what methods he would raise money for the execution of it. He replied, that his friends were his treasure. The principal courtiers concluded from this answer, that, as he considered their purses as the only fund he had to carry on this war, they were upon the point of being ruined by it. To prevent therefore that consequence, which had more weight with them than the allegiance they owed their sovereign, they caused him to be poisoned. This monarch was thus dispatched, in his twenty-ninth year, after he had sat twenty-four years on the throne. Ptolemy Philometor, his son, who was but six years of age, succeeded him, and Cleopatra his mother was declared regent.

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CHAP.

(*y*) A. M. 3822. Ant. J. C. 182. Polyb. in Leg. c. 51-53-55-59. (*z*) A. M. 3824. Ant. J. C. 180. (*a*) Polyb. in Leg. in Leg. c. lvii. (*b*) A. M. 3824. Ant. J. C. 180. Hieron. in Daniel.

C H A P. II.

THIS second chapter includes the space of twenty years, from the year of the world 3821, till 3840. In this interval are contained:

The first twenty years of Ptolemy Philometor's reign over Egypt, which amounted in the whole to thirty four years.

The five last years of Philip, who reigned forty years in Macedonia, and was succeeded by Perseus who reigned eleven.

The eight or nine last years of Seleucus Philopator in Syria, and the eleven years of Antiochus Epiphanes his successor, who exercised the most horrid cruelties against the Jews.

I shall reserve the eleven years of Perseus's reign over Macedonia for the following book, though they coincide with part of the history related in this chapter.

SECT. I. *Complaints made at Rome against PHILIP. DEMETRIUS, his son, who was in that city, is sent to his father, accompanied by some ambassadors. A secret conspiracy of PERSEUS against his brother DEMETRIUS with regard to the succession to the throne. He accuses him before PHILIP. Speeches of both those princes. PHILIP, upon a new impeachment, causes DEMETRIUS to be put to death; but afterwards discovers his innocence and PERSEUS's guilt. Whilst PHILIP is meditating to punish the latter, he dies, and PERSEUS succeeds him.*

(c) FROM the spreading of a report among the states contiguous to Macedonia, that such as went to Rome to complain against Philip, were heard there, and many of them very favourably; a great number of cities, and even private persons, made their complaints in that city against a prince who was a very troublesome neighbour to them all, with the hopes, either of having the injuries redressed which they pretended to have received; or, at least, to console themselves in some measure for them, by being allowed the liberty to deplore them. King Eumenes, among the rest; to whom, by order of the Roman commissioners and senate, the fortresses in Thrace were to be given up, sent ambassadors, at whose head was Athenæus his brother, to inform the senate,

nate, that Philip did not evacuate the garrisons in Thrace as he had promised; and to complain of his sending Accours into Bithynia to Prusias, who was then at war with Amenes.

Demetrius, the son of Philip, king of Macedon, was at that time in Rome, whither, as has been already mentioned, he had been sent by his father, in order to superintend its affairs in that city. It was properly his business to answer the several accusations brought against his father: but the senate, imagining that this would be a very difficult task for a young prince, who was not accustomed to speak in public; to spare him that trouble, they sent certain persons to him to enquire, whether the king his father had not given him some memorials, and contented themselves with his reading them. Philip therein justified himself to the best of his power, with respect to most of the articles which were exhibited against him; but he especially shewed great disgust at the decrees which the Roman commissioners had enacted against him, and at the treatment he had met with from them. The senate saw plainly what all this tended to; and, as the young prince endeavoured to apologize for certain particulars, and assured them, that every thing should be done agreeably to the will of the Romans, the senate replied, that his father Philip could not have done more wisely, or what was more agreeable to them, than in sending his son Demetrius to make his excuses. That, as to past transactions, the senate might dissemble, forget, and bear with a great many things: that, as to the future, they relied on the promise which Demetrius gave: that, although he was going to leave Rome, in order to return to Macedon, he left there (as the hostage of his inclinations) his own good heart and attachment for Rome, which he might retain inviolably, without infringing in any manner the duty he owed his father: that out of regard to him, ambassadors should be sent to Macedon, to rectify, peaceably and without noise, whatever might have been hitherto amiss: and that as to the rest, the senate was well pleased to let Philip know, that he was obliged to his son Demetrius for the tenderness with which the Romans behaved towards him. These marks of distinction which the senate gave him, with the view of exalting his credit in his father's court, only animated envy against him, and at length occasioned his destruction.

(d) The return of Demetrius to Macedon, and the arrival of the ambassadors, produced different effects, according to

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(d) Liv. l. xxxix. n. 53.

the various dispositions of men's minds. The people, who extremely feared the consequences of a rupture with the Romans, and the war that was preparing, were highly pleased with Demetrius, from the hopes that he would be the mediator and author of a peace; not to mention that they considered him as the successor to the throne of Macedon, after the demise of his father. For though he was the younger son, he had one great advantage of his brother, and that was, his being born of a mother, who was Philip's lawful wife; whereas Perseus was the son of a concubine, and even reputed supposititious. Besides, it was not doubted but that the Romans would place Demetrius on his father's throne, Perseus not having any credit with them. And these were the common reports.

On one side also, Perseus was greatly uneasy; as he feared, that the advantage of being elder brother would be but a very feeble title against a brother superior to him in all other respects: and, on the other, Philip, imagining that it would not be in his power to dispose of the throne as he pleased, beheld with a jealous eye, and dreaded the too great authority of his younger son. It was also a great mortification to him, to see rising, in his life-time, and before his eyes, a kind of second court in the concourse of Macedonians who crowded about Demetrius. The young prince himself did not take sufficient care to prevent or soothe the growing dissension to his person. Instead of endeavouring to suppress envy, by gentleness, modesty, and complacency, he only enflamed it, by a certain air of haughtiness which he had brought with him from Rome, valuing himself upon the marks of distinction, with which he had been honoured in that city; and not scrupling to declare, that the senate had granted him many things they had refused his father.

Philip's discontent was much more inflamed, at the arrival of the new ambassadors, to whom his son made his court more assiduously than to himself; and when he found he should be obliged to abandon Thrace, to withdraw his garri- sons from that country, and to execute other things, either pursuant to the decrees of the first commissioners, or to the fresh orders he had received from Rome: all these orders and decrees he complied with very much against his will, and with the highest secret resentment; but which he was forced to obey, to prevent his being involved in a war for which he was not sufficiently prepared. To remove all suspicion of his harbouring the least design that way, he carried his arms into the very heart of Thrace, against people with

with whom the Romans did not concern themselves in any manner.

(e) However, his schemes were not unknown at Rome. Marcus, one of the commissioners, who had communicated the orders of the senate to Philip, wrote to Rome to inform them, that all the king's discourses, and the several steps he took, visibly threatened an approaching war. To make himself the more secure of the maritime cities, he forced all the inhabitants, with their families, to leave them; settled them in * the most northern part of Macedon, and substituted in their places Thracians, and other barbarous nations, whom he believed would be more faithful to him. These changes occasioned a general murmur in every part of Macedon; and all the provinces echoed with the cries and complaints of poor, unhappy people, who were forced away out of their houses, and the places where they were born, to be confined in unknown countries. Nothing was heard on all sides but imprecations and curses against the king, who was the author of these innovations.

(f) But Philip, so far from being moved at their grief, grew more cruel from it. All things were suspected by him, and gave him umbrage. He had put to death a great number of persons, upon suspicion that they favoured the Romans. He thought his own life could not be safe, but in securing their children, and he imprisoned them under a good guard, in order to have them all destroyed one after another. Nothing could be more horrid in itself than such a design; but the sad catastrophe of one of the most powerful and most illustrious families in Thessaly, made it still more execrable.

He had put to death, many years before, Herodicus, one of the principal persons of the country, and some time after, his two sons-in-law. Theoxena and Archo, his two daughters, had lived widows, each of them having a son, both very young. Theoxena, who was sought for in marriage by the richest and most powerful noblemen in Thessaly, preferred widowhood to the nuptial state; but Archo married a nobleman of Ænia, called Poris, and brought him several children, whom Archo, dying early, left infants. Theoxena, that she might have an opportunity of bringing up her sister's children under her eye, married Poris; took the same care of them as she did of her own son; and was as tender of them as if she had been their mother. When news was brought her

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of

(e) Liv. l. xl. n. 3-5.

(f) A. M. 3822. Ant. J. C. 182.

* *Æmathia*, called formerly *Prænia*.

of Philip's cruel edict, to murder the children of those who had been put to death; plainly foreseeing that they would be given up to the brutal fury of the king and his officers, she formed a surprising resolution, declaring that she would imbrue her hands in the blood of all her children, rather than suffer them to fall into the merciless power of Philip. Poris, whose soul was struck with horror at this design, told her, in order to divert her from it, that he would send all their children to Athens, to some friends, on whose fidelity and humanity he could safely rely, and that he himself would convey them thither. Accordingly, they all set out from Thessalonica, in order to sail to the city of Ænia, to assist at a solemn festival, which was solemnized annually in honour of Æneas their founder. Having spent the whole day in festivity and rejoicing, about midnight, when every body else was asleep, they embarked on board a galley which Poris had prepared for them, as if intending to return to Thessalonica, but, in reality, to go for Eubœa; when unhappily a contrary wind prevented them from advancing forward, in spite of their utmost efforts, and drove them back towards the coast. At day-break, the king's officers, who were posted to guard the port, having perceived them, immediately sent off an armed sloop; commanding the captain of it, upon the severest penalties, not to return without the galley. As it drew nearer, Poris was seen every moment, either exhorting the ship's company in the strongest terms, to exert themselves to the utmost in order to get forward; or lifting up his hands to heaven, and imploring the assistance of the gods. In the mean time Theoxena, resuming her former resolution, and presenting to her children the deadly dose she had prepared, and the daggers she had brought with her: "Death," says she, "only can free you from your miseries; and here is what will procure you that last, sad refuge. Secure yourselves from the king's horrid cruelty by the method you like best. Go (my dear children) such of you as are most advanced in years, and take these poniards; or, in case a slower kind of death may be more grateful, take this poison." The enemy were now almost in reach, and the mother was very urgent with them. They obeyed her fatal commands; and all, having either swallowed the deadly draughts, or plunged the daggers in their bosoms, were thrown into the sea. Theoxena, after giving her husband a last sad embrace, leapt into the sea with him. Philip's officers then seized the galley, but did not find one person alive in it.

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The horror of this tragical event revived and inflamed to a prodigious degree, the hatred against Philip. He was publicly detested as a bloody tyrant; and people vented, in all places, both against him and his children, dreadful imprecations, which, says Livy, soon had their effect; the gods having abandoned him to a blind fury, which prompted him to wreak his vengeance against his own children.

(g) Perseus saw, with infinite pain and affliction, that the regard of the Macedonians for his brother Demetrius, and his credit and authority among the Romans, increased daily. Having now no hopes left of being able to ascend the throne but by criminal methods, he made them his only refuge. He began, by sounding the disposition of those who were in greatest favour with the king, and by addressing them in obscure and ambiguous words. At first, some seemed not to enter into his views, and rejected his proposals, from believing that there was more to be hoped from Demetrius. But afterwards, observing that the hatred of Philip for the Romans increased sensibly; which Perseus endeavoured daily to inflame, and which Demetrius, on the contrary, opposed to the utmost, they changed their opinion. Judging naturally that the latter, whose youth and inexperience made him not sufficiently upon his guard against the artifices of his brother, would at last fall a victim to them; they thought it their interest to promote an event which would happen without their participation, and to go over immediately to the strongest party. They accordingly did so, and devoted themselves entirely to Perseus.

Having postponed the execution of their more remote designs, they were of opinion that for the present it would be proper for them to employ their utmost efforts to exasperate the king against the Romans, and to inspire him with thoughts of war, to which he was already very much inclined. At the same time, to render Demetrius every day more suspected, they industriously, on all occasions, made the discourse turn in the king's presence upon the Romans; some expressing the utmost contempt for their laws and customs, others for their exploits; some for the city of Rome, which, according to them, was void of ornaments and magnificent buildings; and others even for such of the Romans as were in highest estimation; making them all pass in this manner in a kind of review. Demetrius, who did not perceive the scope and tendency of all these discourses, never failed, out of zeal for the Romans, and by way of contradiction to his brother, to

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take

to make this action still more criminal, Perseus orders the door to be locked; and then, from the window of an upper apartment that looked into the street, cried aloud to his servants not to open the door to wretches, who were come with design to assassinate them. Demetrius, who was a little ~~drunk~~ with wine, after having complained, in a loud and angry tone of voice, at being refused admittance, returned back, and again sat down to table; still ignorant of the affair relating to Perseus's spy.

The next day, as soon as Perseus could get an opportunity to approach his father, he entered his apartment with a very dejected air; and continued some time in his presence, but at a little distance, without opening his mouth. Philip, being greatly surprized at his silence, asked what could be the cause of the concern which appeared in his countenance? "It is the greatest happiness for me," answers Perseus, "and by the merest good fortune in the world, that you see me here alive. My brother now no longer lays secret snares for me; he came in the night to my house, at the head of a body of armed men, purposely to assassinate me. I had no other way left to secure myself from his fury, but by shutting my doors, and keeping the wall between him and me." Perseus perceiving, by his father's countenance, that he was struck with astonishment and dread: "if you will condescend," says he, "to listen a moment to me, you shall be fully acquainted with the whole state of the affair." Philip answered, that he would willingly hear him; and immediately ordered Demetrius to be sent for. At the same time, he sent for Lyfimachus and Onomastes, to ask their advice on this occasion. These two men, who were his intimate friends, were far advanced in years. They had not concerned themselves with the quarrel of the two princes, and appeared very seldom at court. Philip, whilst he waited for their coming, walked several times up and down his apartment alone; during which he revolved a variety of thoughts, his son Perseus standing all the time at a distance. When word was brought Philip that his two venerable friends were come, he withdrew to an inner apartment with them, and as many of his life-guards; and permitted each of his sons to bring three persons, unarmed, along with him: and having taken his seat, he spoke to them as follows.

"Behold in me an unhappy father, forced to sit as judge between my two sons, one the accuser, and the other charged with the horrid guilt of fratricide; reduced to the sad necessity of finding, in one of them, either a criminal

“ or a false accuser. From certain rumours, which long
“ since reached my ears, and an unusual behaviour I observe
“ between you (a behaviour no way suiting brothers) I in-
“ deed was afraid this storm would break over my head.
“ And yet I hoped, from time to time, that your discontents
“ and disgusts would soften, and your suspicions vanish
“ away. I recollected, that contending kings and princes,
“ laying down their arms, had frequently contracted alli-
“ ances and friendships; and that private men had suppressed
“ their animosities. I flattered myself, that you would one
“ day remember the endearing name of brethren by which
“ you are united; those tender years of infancy which you
“ spent in simplicity and union; in fine, the counsels so often
“ repeated by a father; counsels, which, alas! I am afraid
“ have been given to children deaf and indocile to my voice.
“ How many times, after setting before you examples of
“ the discord between brothers, have I represented its fatal
“ consequences, by shewing you, that they had thereby in-
“ volved themselves in inevitable ruin; and not only them-
“ selves, but their children, families, and kingdoms? On
“ the other side, I proposed good examples for your imitation:
“ The strict union between the two kings of Lacedæmonia,
“ so advantageous during several centuries, to themselves
“ and their country; in opposition to division and private
“ interest that changed the monarchick government into
“ tyranny, and proved the destruction of Sparta. By what
“ other method, than by fraternal concord, did the two
“ brothers, Eumenes and Attalus, from such weak begin-
“ nings as almost reflected dishonour on the regal dignity,
“ rise to a pitch of power equal to mine, to that of Antiochus,
“ and of all the kings we know of? I even did not scruple
“ to cite examples from the Romans, of which I myself had
“ either been an eye-witness, or heard from others: as the
“ two brothers, Titus and Lucius Quintius, who both were
“ engaged in war with me: the two Scipios, Publius and
“ Lucius, who defeated and subjected Antiochus; their
“ father and their uncle, who having been inseparable during
“ their lives, were undivided in death. Neither the crimes
“ of the one, though attended with such fatal consequences;
“ nor the virtues of the other, though crowned with such
“ happy success, have been able to make you abhor division
“ and discord, and to inspire you with gentle and pacifick
“ sentiments. Both of you, in my life time, have turned
“ your eyes and guilty desires upon my throne. You will
“ not suffer me to live, till surviving one of you, I secure

“ my crown to the other by my death. The fond names of
 “ father and brother are insupportable to both. Your souls
 “ are strangers to tenderness and love. A restless desire of
 “ reigning has banished all other sentiments from your breasts,
 “ and entirely engrosses you. But come, let me hear what
 “ each of you have to say. Pollute the ears of your parent
 “ with real or feigned accusations. Open your criminal
 “ mouths; vent all your reciprocal slanders, and afterwards
 “ arm your parricide hands one against the other. I am ready
 “ to hear all you have to say; firmly determined to shut
 “ my ears eternally from henceforth against the secret whisper
 “ and accusations of brother against brother.” Philip
 having spoke these last words with great emotion and an angry
 tone of voice, all who were present wept, and continued a
 long time in a mournful silence.

At last, Perseus spoke as follows. “ I perceive plainly,
 “ that I ought to have opened my door in the dead of night;
 “ to have admitted the assassins into my house, and presented
 “ my throat to their murderous swords, since guilt is never
 “ believed, till it has been perpetrated; and since I, who
 “ was so inhumanly attacked, receive the same injurious
 “ reproaches as the aggressor. People have but too much
 “ reason to say, that you consider Demetrius only as your
 “ true son; whilst unhappy I am looked upon as a stranger,
 “ sprung from a concubine, or even an impostor. For, did
 “ your breast glow with the tenderness which a father ought
 “ to have for his child, you would not think it just to inveigh
 “ so bitterly against me, (for whose life so many snares have
 “ been laid) but against him who contrived them; and you
 “ would not think my life so inconsiderable, as to be entirely
 “ unmoved at the imminent danger I escaped; nor to that to
 “ which I shall be exposed, should the guilt of my enemies
 “ be suffered to go unpunished. If I must die without being
 “ suffered to breathe my complaints, be it so; let me leave
 “ the world in silence, and be contented with beseeching the
 “ gods in my expiring moments, that the crime which was
 “ begun in my person, may end in it, and not extend to
 “ your sacred life. But if (what nature inspires in those,
 “ who seeing themselves attacked unawares in solitude, im-
 “ plore the assistance even of strangers to them) I may be
 “ allowed to do with regard to you on the present occasion:
 “ If, when I see swords drawn round me, in order to pierce
 “ my heart, I may be permitted to vent forth a plaintive
 “ and supplicating voice; I conjure you by the tender, the
 “ dear name of father, (for which, whether my brother or I
 “ have

" have had the greatest reverence, you yourself have long known) to listen to me at this time, as if awaked suddenly from your sleep by the tumult of what passed last night, chance had brought you at the instant of my danger, and in the midst of my complaints; and that you had found Demetrius at my door, attended by persons in arms. What I should have told you yesterday, in the greatest emotion, and seized with fear, I say to you now.

" Brother, it is long since we have not behaved towards one another, like persons desirous of sharing in parties of pleasure. You are fired with an insatiable thirst of reigning, but you find an invincible obstacle in my age, the law of nations, the ancient customs of Macedonia; and, a still stronger circumstance, my father's will and pleasure. It will be impossible for you ever to force these barriers, and to ascend the throne, but by imbruing your hands in my blood. To compass your horrid ends, you employ instruments of all kinds, and set every engine at work, Hitherto, my vigilance, or my good fortune, have preserved me from your bloody hands. Yesterday, at the review, and the ceremony of the tournament which followed it, the battle, by your contrivance, became almost bloody and fatal; and, had I not suffered myself and my followers to be defeated, you would have sent me to the grave. From this fight, indeed of enemies, you insidiously wanted (as if what had passed had been only the diversion of brothers) to allure me to your feast. Can you suppose (royal father) that I should have met with unarmed guests there, as those very guests came to my palace, completely armed at so late an hour? Can you imagine that, favoured by the gloom, they would not have strove to plunge their daggers in my heart; as the same persons in open day, and before your eyes, almost killed me with their wooden weapons? How! You, who are my professed enemy; you, who are conscious that I have so much reason to complain of your conduct; you (I say) come to me in the night, at an unreasonable hour, and at the head of a company of armed young men? I did not think it safe for me to go to your entertainment; and should I receive you in my house at a time, when heated with the fumes of wine, you came so well attended? Had I then opened my door (royal sir) you would be preparing to solemnize my funeral, at this very instant in which you vouchsafe to hear my complaints. I do not advance any thing dubious, nor speak barely

from conjecture. For can Demetrius deny but that he

" can

" came to my house, attended by a band of young people,
 " and that some of them were armed; I only desire to have
 " those whom I shall name sent for. I believe them capable
 " of any thing; but yet they cannot have the assurance to
 " deny the fact. Had I brought them before you, after
 " seizing them armed in my house, you would be fully con-
 " vinced of their guilt: and surely their own confession ought
 " to be a no less proof of it.

" You call down imprecations and curses upon impious
 " sons who aspire to your throne: this (august sir) you have
 " great reason to do: but then I beseech you not to vent your
 " imprecations blindly, and at random. Distinguish be-
 " tween the innocent and the guilty. Let him who medita-
 " ted the barbarous design of murdering his brother, feel the
 " dire effects of the anger of the gods, the avengers of pater-
 " nal authority: but then let him, who, by his brother's
 " guilt, was brought to the brink of destruction, find a se-
 " cure asylum in his father's tenderness and justice. For
 " where else can I expect to find one: I, to whom neither the
 " ceremony of the review, the solemnity of the tournament,
 " my own house, the festival, nor the hours of night allotted
 " by the gods to the repose of man, could afford the least se-
 " curity? If I go to the entertainment to which my brother
 " invites me, I am a dead man; and it will be equally fatal
 " to me, if I admit him into my house, when he comes thi-
 " ther at midnight. Snares are laid for me wherever I
 " tread. Death lies in ambush for me wherever I move; to
 " what place then can I fly for security?

" I have devoted myself only to the gods, and to you, my
 " royal father. I never made my court to the Romans, and
 " cannot have recourse to them. There is nothing they more
 " earnestly wish than my ruin, because I am so much affected
 " with their injustice to you; because I am tortured to the
 " soul, and fired with indignation, to see you dispossessed of
 " so many cities and dominions; and, lately, of the mari-
 " time coasts of Thrace. They cannot flatter themselves
 " with the hopes of ever making themselves masters of Mace-
 " donia, as long as you or I am in being. They are sensible,
 " that, should I die by my brother's guilt, or age bring you
 " to the grave; or they not wait the due course of nature;
 " that then the king and kingdom will be at their
 " disposal.

" Had the Romans left you the possession of some city or
 " territory, not in the kingdom of Macedon, I possibly
 " might have had some opportunity of retiring to it. But,

" will

" will it be answered, shall I find a sufficiently powerful protection in the Macedonians? You yourself, royal father, saw, with what animosity and virulence the soldiers attacked me in the battle. What was wanting, for my destruction, but swords of steel? However, the arms they wanted, my brother's guests assumed in the night. What shall I say of a great part of the principal persons of your court, who ground all their hopes on the Romans, and on him who is all-powerful with them? They are not ashamed to prefer him not only to me, who am his elder brother; but, I might almost say it, to you, who are our king and father. For they pretend it is to him you are obliged for the senate's remitting you some of those things which they otherwise would have required: it is he who now checks the Romans, and prevents their advancing, in a hostile manner, into your kingdom: in fine, if they may be believed, your old age has no other refuge, but the protection which your young son procures you. On his side are the Romans, and all the cities which have been dismembered from your dominions, as well as all such Macedonians, whose dependence, with regard to fortune, lies wholly in the Romans. But with respect to myself, I look upon it as glorious to have no other protector but my royal father, and to place all my hopes in him alone.

" What do you judge to be the aim and design of the letter you lately received from Quintius, in which he declares expressly, that you acted prudently for your interest, in sending Demetrius to Rome; and, wherein he exhorts you to send him back thither, accompanied by other ambassadors, and a greater train of Macedonian noblemen? Quintius is now every thing with Demetrius. He has no other guide but his counsels, or rather his orders. Quite forgetting that you are his father, he seems to have substituted him in your place. It is in the city of Rome, and in his sight he formed the secret and clandestine designs which will soon break out into action. It is merely to have the better opportunity of putting them in execution, that Quintius orders you to send along with Demetrius a greater number of the Macedonian nobility. They set out from this country, with the most sincere attachment to your person and interest: but, won by the gracious treatment they meet with in that city, they return from it entirely corrupted and debauched by different sentiments. Demetrius is all in all with them: they even presume, in your life-time, to give him the title of king. If I appear shock-

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"ed at this conduct, I have the grief to see, not only others,
 "but yourself (my royal father) charge me with the horrid
 "design of aspiring to your throne. Should this accusation
 "be levelled at us both, I am conscious of my own inno-
 "cence, and it cannot in any manner affect me. For, who,
 "in that case, should I dispossess, to seize upon what would
 "be another's right? There is no one but my father between
 "me and the throne, and I beseech the gods that he may
 "long continue so. In case I should happen to survive him
 "(and this I would not wish, but so long as he should desire
 "it) I shall succeed him in the kingdom, if it be his good
 "pleasure. HE may be accused of aspiring to the throne,
 "and of aspiring in the most unjust and criminal manner,
 "who is impatient to break the order and bounds prescribed
 "by age, by nature, by the usages and customs of Mace-
 "donia, and by the law of nations. My elder brother
 "(says Demetrius to himself) to whom the kingdom belongs
 "both by the right of seniority, and my father's will, is an
 "obstacle to my ambitious views.——What then must be
 "done?——I must dispatch him.——I shall not be the first
 "who has waded through a brother's blood to the throne.
 "My father, in years, and without support, will be too
 "much afraid for his own life to meditate revenge for
 "his son's death. The Romans will be greatly pleased to
 "see me on the throne; they will approve my conduct, and
 "be able to support me.——I own (most gracious father)
 "these projects may all be defeated, but I am sure they are
 "not without foundation. In a word, I reduce all to this:
 "It is in your power to secure my life, by bringing to con-
 "dign punishment, those who yesterday armed to assassinate
 "me: but, should their guilt take effect, it will not be in
 "your power to revenge my death."

As soon as Perseus had ended his speech, all the company
 cast their eyes on Demetrius, to intimate that it was incum-
 bent on him to answer immediately. But that young prince,
 being quite oppressed with sorrow, shedding floods of tears,
 and seeming unable to speak, a long silence ensued. At last
 being pressed to answer, he made his grief give way to neces-
 sity, and spoke as follows.

"Perseus (royal sir) by accusing me in your presence, and
 "by shedding fictitious tears to move you to compassion, has
 "made you suspect mine, which, alas! are but too sincere;
 "and by that means deprived me of all the advantages the
 "accused generally have. Ever since my return from Rome,
 "he has been day and night laying snares for me, in secret
 "cabals

"cabals with his creatures; and yet he represents me to you
 "not only as laying hidden ambuscades to destroy him, but
 "attacking him by open force, and persons in arms. He
 "endeavours to alarm you by the pretended dangers which
 "surround him, in hopes that you will put to death his in-
 "nocent brother. He declares that he has no refuge, no
 "asylum left, with design to prevent my finding one in your
 "clemency and justice. In the solitary and abandoned state to
 "which I see myself reduced, quite friendless and unprotected,
 "he strives to make me odious, by reproaching me with a
 "foreign credit and support, which are rather a prejudice
 "than a service to me.

"Observe, I beseech you, with what insidious art he has
 "blended and confounded the transactions of last night with
 "every other circumstance of my life; and this in a double
 "view, first to raise a suspicion in you of my conduct in
 "general from this last action, the innocence of which will
 "soon be evident; and secondly, to support, by this idle
 "story of a nocturnal attack, his equally idle accusation, of
 "my harbouring criminal views, hopes, and pretensions.
 "At the same time he has endeavoured to shew, that this
 "accusation was not premeditated or prepared; but that it
 "was wholly the effect of the fear with which he was seized,
 "occasioned by last night's tumult. But, Perseus, if I had
 "attempted to betray my father and his kingdom; had I
 "engaged in conspiracies with the Romans, and with the
 "enemies of the state, you ought not to have waited for the
 "opportunity of the fictitious story of last night's transaction,
 "but should have impeached me before this time of such trea-
 "son. If the charge of treason, when separated from the other,
 "was altogether improbable, and could serve to no other
 "purpose but to prove how much you envy me, and not to
 "evidence my guilt, you ought not to have mentioned it now,
 "but should have postponed that charge to another time; and
 "have examined now this question only, whether you laid snares
 "for me, or I for you. I nevertheless will endeavour, as far as
 "the confusion into which this sudden and unforeseen accusa-
 "tion has thrown me will permit, to separate and distin-
 "guish what you have thrown together indiscriminately;
 "and to shew whether you or myself ought in justice to be
 "accused of dealing treacherously last night.

"Perseus asserts, that I harboured a design to assassinate
 "him, in order that, by the death of my elder brother, to
 "whom the crown appertains by the right of nations, by
 "the customs of Macedonia, and even, as he pretends, by
 "your

" your determination; I, though the younger son, might
 " succeed to the throne. To what purpose therefore is that
 " other part of his speech, where he declares, that I have
 " been particularly studious to ingratiate myself with the
 " Romans, and flattered myself with the hopes of being
 " able to ascend the throne by their assistance? For, if I
 " thought the Romans were powerful enough to bestow the
 " kingdom of Macedon on whomsoever they pleased; and
 " if I relied so much on my credit and authority with them,
 " why should I commit a fratricide of no advantage to my-
 " self? What! should I have affected to surround my temples
 " with a diadem, dyed with my brother's blood, merely
 " that I might become odious and execrable, even to those
 " with whom I had acquired some authority (admitting I
 " have some credit with them) by a probity either real or
 " dissembled? Unless you can suppose that Quintius, whose
 " counsel I am accused of following (he, I say, who lives in
 " so delightful a union with his brother), suggested to me the
 " horrid design of embruing my hands in my brother's blood.
 " Perseus has summed up all the advantages, by which (as he
 " would insinuate) I can promise myself a superiority over him,
 " such as the credit of the Romans, the suffrages of the Ma-
 " cedonians, and the almost universal consent of gods and
 " men; and yet he, at the same time, (as if I was inferior
 " to him in all respects) charges me with having recourse to
 " an expedient which none but the blackest villains could
 " employ. Will you, gracious sir, have us judged upon this
 " principle and rule, that whichever of us two was appre-
 " hensive that the other would be judged more worthy of the
 " diadem, shall be declared to have formed the design of
 " murdering his brother?

" But let us come to facts, and examine the order and
 " plan of the criminal enterprize with which I am charged.
 " Perseus pretends to have been attacked in different manners,
 " all which are however included within the space of one day.
 " I attempted (as he says) to murder him in broad day-light,
 " in the battle which followed the sacred ceremony of
 " the review. I had determined to poison him at an
 " entertainment to which I had invited him; in fine, I
 " resolved to attack him with open force, in the dead of
 " night, attended by armed persons to a party of pleasure at
 " his house.

" You see, sir, the season I had chosen to commit this
 " fratricide; a tournament, a banquet, a party of plea-
 " sure. How venerable and solemn was this day! A day
 " on

“ on which the army is reviewed, on which the resplendent
“ arms of all the Macedonian monarchs are carried in the
“ front of the procession; on which it passes through the
“ two parts of the sacred victim; and on which we have the
“ honour to march with you, at the head of the whole Macedonian people. What! though purified, by this august
“ sacrifice, from all faults I might before have committed;
“ having before my eyes the sacred victim through which we
“ passed, was my mind intent upon fratricides, poisons, and
“ daggers! Defiled in such a manner by crimes of the most
“ horrid nature, by what ceremonies, by what victims, would
“ it have been possible for me to purify myself?

“ It is evident that my brother, hurried on by a blind
“ passion to calumniate and destroy me, in his endeavour to
“ make every thing suspected, and a crime in me, betrays
“ and contradicts himself. For (brother) had I formed
“ the abominable design of poisoning you at my table,
“ what could be more ill judged than to exasperate you, and
“ to put you upon your guard by an obstinate battle, in
“ which I should have discovered that I had designs of violence against you; and, by that means, have prevented
“ your coming to an entertainment to which I had invited
“ you, and at which you accordingly refused to be present?
“ But surely, after such a refusal, should I not have endeavoured to reconcile myself to you; and, as I had resolved
“ to take you off by poison, ought I not to have sought another opportunity for giving you the fatal draught? Was it
“ natural for me to change suddenly (in one day) my barbarous design, and to attempt to assassinate you, upon pretence of going to your house on a party of pleasure? Could
“ I reasonably flatter myself with the hopes (taking it for granted that the fear of your being murdered had made
“ you refuse to come to my entertainment) that the same fear would not induce you to refuse me admittance into
“ your house?

“ I presume, sir, I may confess to you without blushing,
“ that in a day of festivity and rejoicing, happening to be in
“ company with some people of the same age with myself, I
“ drank more plentifully than usual. Enquire, I beseech
“ you, how we spent our time at the feast, how full of mirth
“ we were, how transported with thoughtless gaiety, very
“ much heightened by our, perhaps, too indiscreet joy, for
“ the victory we had gained in the tournament. It is the sad
“ condition of an unforeseen accusation; it is the danger in
“ which I now see myself involved, that have dispelled
“ but

“ but too easily the fumes of wine; wife, a talker
 “ assassin, my eyes had still been closed in re. Had I
 “ formed a resolution to attack your house with the view of
 “ murdering you, would it not have been possible for me to
 “ abstain, for one day, from immoderate drinking, and to
 “ keep my companions from the like excess?

“ But, that it may not be thought that I, only, act with
 “ frankness and simplicity, let us hear my brother, whose
 “ conduct is sincere and undisguised, and who does not har-
 “ bour the least suspicion. All, says he, that I know, and
 “ the only thing I have to complain of, is, that they came
 “ armed to my house, upon pretence of engaging in a party
 “ of pleasure. Should I ask you how you came to know this,
 “ you will be forced to own, either that my house was filled
 “ with spies sent by you, or else that my attendants had
 “ taken up arms in so open a manner, that every one knew
 “ of it. What does my brother do? That he may not seem
 “ to have formerly watched all my motions; nor, at this
 “ time, to ground his accusation merely on suppositions, he
 “ beseeches you to enquire of those whom he shall name,
 “ whether people did not come armed to his house; in order
 “ that, (as if this were a doubtful circumstance) after this
 “ enquiry into an incident which they themselves own and
 “ confess, they may be considered as legally convicted. But
 “ is this the question? Why do not you desire an enquiry to
 “ be made whether they took up arms to assassinate you, and
 “ if they did it with my knowledge, and at my request? For
 “ it is this you pretend; and not what they themselves own
 “ publicly, and which is very manifest, that they took up
 “ arms in no other view but to defend themselves. Whether
 “ they had or had not reason to arm themselves, that they are
 “ to inform you. Do not blend and confound my cause
 “ with theirs, for they are quite distinct and separate. Only
 “ tell us, whether we really intended to attack you openly or
 “ by surprize. If openly, why did we not all take up arms?
 “ Why were those only armed who had insulted your spy?
 “ In case it was to have been by surprize, in what manner
 “ would the attack have been made? Would it have been at
 “ the end of the feast in your house, and after I had left it
 “ with my company, would the four men in question have
 “ staid behind, to have fallen upon you when asleep? How
 “ would it have been possible for them, as they were stran-
 “ gers in my service, to conceal themselves in your house;
 “ and as they could not but be very much suspected, having
 “ been seen but a few hours before engaged in the quarrel?

“ Again,

" Again, supposing they had found an opportunity to murder you, in what manner could they have escaped? Could four men armed, have been able to make themselves masters of your house?

" But to leave this nocturnal fiction, and to come to what really pains you, and which you have so much at heart: For what reason (methinks I hear my brother say) wherefore (O Demetrius) do the people talk of making you king? Why do some persons think you more worthy than I of succeeding our father? Why do you make my hopes doubtful and uncertain, which, were it not for you, would have been established on the most solid foundation?— Such are the reflections which Perseus revolves in his mind, though he does not express himself in this manner: it is this raises his enmity against me, and prompts him to charge me with such horrid attempts: it is this fills the palace, and every part of the kingdom, with suspicions and accusations. If it does not become me, sir, so much as to hope the scepter, nor perhaps ever to think of contesting it, because it is your will and pleasure that I should yield to my elder brother; it does not follow that I ought to make myself appear unworthy of it, either to * you (my royal father) or to all the Macedonians; a circumstance which nothing but my ill conduct could occasion. I can, indeed through moderation, resign it to whom it belongs; but I cannot prevail with myself to renounce my virtue and good name.

" You reproach me with the affection of the Romans, and impute that to me for a crime, which ought to be my glory. I did not desire to be sent to Rome, neither as an hostage at first, nor afterwards as ambassador: this, sir, you yourself very well know, when you ordered me to go thither, I obeyed your commands; and I believe my conduct and behaviour were such, as cannot reflect the least dishonour either on yourself, your crown, or the Macedonian nation. It is therefore yourself, sir, that occasioned the friendship I have contracted with the Romans. So long as you shall be at peace with them, so long our friendship will subsist: but the moment the trumpet sounds for war, though I have been an hostage among them, and exercised the functions of an ambassador in such a manner, as, perhaps, has not been disadvantageous to my father; from that moment, I say, I shall declare myself their enemy. I

" do

* Instead of *indignus te patre*, Gronovius reads, *indignus tibi pater*; which seems to agree better with the context.

“ do not desire to reap any benefit on the present occasion,
 “ from the love which the Romans have for me; all I in-
 “ treat is, that it may not be of prejudice to me. It was not
 “ begun in war, nor was it designed to subsist in it. As
 “ an hostage and an ambassador, peace was my only
 “ object; let that be neither considered in me as a crime or
 “ a merit.

“ If I have violated, in any manner, the respect I owe
 “ you, sir; if I have formed any criminal enterprize against
 “ my brother, let me be punished as I deserve: but if I am
 “ innocent, this I claim; that as I cannot be convicted of
 “ the least guilt, I may not fall a victim to envy. This is
 “ not the first time that my brother has charged me with
 “ harbouring horrid designs; but it is the first time he has at-
 “ tempted to do it openly, though without the least founda-
 “ tion. Was my father exasperated against me, it would be
 “ your duty, as the elder, kindly to intercede for your
 “ younger brother; to solicit his pardon, to intreat that
 “ some regard might be shewn to his youth; and that a fault,
 “ which had been committed merely through inadvertency,
 “ might be overlooked. My ruin comes from that very
 “ quarter, whence I might naturally have expected my
 “ safety.

“ Though not quite awake, after the feast and party of
 “ pleasure, I am dragged hither on a sudden, to answer a
 “ charge of fratricide; and am forced to plead my own
 “ cause, unassisted by counsellors, and unsupported by the
 “ advice or credit of a single person. Had I been to speak
 “ in favour of another, I should have taken time to prepare
 “ and compose my discourse; and yet, on such an occasion,
 “ my reputation only would have lain at stake, and I should
 “ have had nothing to do but to display my wit and elo-
 “ quence. — At this instant, without knowing the cause
 “ for which I am ordered to appear in this place, I hear an
 “ offended father, commanding me to make my defence;
 “ and a brother, charging me with the most horrid crimes.
 “ Perseus has had all the time he could desire to prepare his
 “ accusation, whilst unhappy I did not so much as know
 “ what the business was, till the very instant the accusation
 “ was brought against me. In this rapid moment, ought I
 “ to be more attentive to my accuser, than studious of my
 “ own apology? Surprized by a sudden and unforeseen accu-
 “ sation, I could scarce comprehend what was laid to my
 “ charge, so far from being able to know how to make a de-
 “ fence. What hopes, what refuge could I have left, did I
 “ not

" not know that it is my royal father who is to judge? He
 " may shew a greater affection for my brother, as the elder;
 " but he owes more compassion to me, as being the party
 " accused: I myself conjure you to preserve my life for your
 " own sake and mine; whereas Perseus insists upon your sa-
 " crificing me to his safety. What may you not naturally
 " expect from him, when you shall once have invested him
 " with your authority, as he now demands your favour in
 " preference to me, at no less a price than my blood?"

Whilst Demetrius defended himself in this manner, his words were interrupted by deep sighs and groans, intermixed with tears. Philip, dismissing both of them for a moment, advised with his friends; and then ordering them to be called in again, he told them: " I will not pronounce sentence on this affair, from mere words and a few transient speeches, but from the enquiry I shall make into your conduct; from your behaviour in small as well as great things, and from your words as well as actions." This judgement shewed plainly enough, that although Demetrius had cleared himself with regard to the charge of endeavouring to take away his brother's life, Philip however suspected him from his union with the Romans. These were in a manner the first sparks of the war, that appeared in Philip's life-time, and which were to break into a flame under Perseus his successor.

(b) The king, some time after, sent Philocles and Apelles as his ambassadors to Rome, not so much with the design of employing them in any negotiation, as to enquire how the inhabitants of that city stood affected with regard to Demetrius; and to enquire secretly into what he had said there (particularly to Quintius) with regard to the succession to the throne. Philip imagined that these two men were not attached to any party; but they were Perseus's adherents, and had engaged in his conspiracy. Demetrius, who knew nothing of what was transacting (his brother's accusation excepted) had no hopes of ever being able to pacify his father; especially when he found that his brother had so ordered matters, that he could not have the least access to him. All he therefore endeavoured was, to keep a watchful guard over his words and actions, in order to shun all occasions of suspicion and envy. He avoided speaking of the Romans, or holding the least correspondence with them, even by letter; knowing it was this that chiefly incensed the Macedonians against him. He ought to have taken these precautions sooner;

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(b) A. M. 3823. Ant. J. C. 181. Liv. l. xlix. n. 20-24.

but this young prince, who had no experience, and was frank and sincere in all things, and judged of others from himself, imagined he had nothing to fear from a court, with whose intrigues and artifices he ought to have been better acquainted.

Philip, from a vulgar opinion which prevailed in Macedon, that from the top of mount Hæmus the Black sea and the Adriatick, as well as the Danube and the Alps, might be discovered, was curious to have an ocular demonstration of it; imagining that this prospect might be of some service to the design he meditated, of making Italy the seat of war. He only took Perseus with him, and sent Demetrius into Macedon; appointing Didas, governor of Paonia, and one of the king's chief officers, to escort him. This governor was a creature of Perseus, who had taught him his lesson perfectly; and exhorted him, above all things, to insinuate himself as artfully as possible into the opinion of the young prince, in order to discover all his secrets.

Didas executed his commission but too well. He agreed to every thing that Demetrius said, lamented his ill fate, seemed to detest the injustice and insincerity of his enemies, who represented him, on all occasions, in the most odious light to his father, and offered to serve him to the utmost, in whatever lay in his power. Demetrius at last resolved to fly to the Romans. He fancied that heaven had opened him a certain means (for it was necessary to pass through Paonia, of which Didas, as I observed above, was governor) and accordingly he revealed his design to him. Didas, without loss of time, sent advice of this to Perseus, and the latter to king Philip; who, after having undergone inexpressible fatigues in his journey upon mount Hæmus, was returned with no better informations from his enquiry than he carried with him. The monarch and his attendants did not however refuse the vulgar opinion; in all probability, that they might not expose so ridiculous a journey to the laughter of the publick; rather than because they had seen, from one and the same spot, river, seas, and mountains, at so vast a distance from one another. However that were, the king was at that time employed in the siege of a city called Petra, where the news I have mentioned was brought him. Herodotus, Demetrius's bosom-friend, was seized, and strict orders were given to keep a watchful eye over the prince.

Philip, at his return to Macedon, was seized with a deep melancholy. This last attempt of Demetrius went to his heart. He thought, however, that it would be proper for him

him to wait till the return of the ambassadors whom he had sent to Rome, and who had been taught their lesson before they left Macedon. They reported exactly whatever had been dictated to them; and presented the king with a forged letter, sealed with a counterfeit seal of T. Quintius, in which he desired Philip, "not to be offended at his son Demetrius, for some unguarded expressions which might have escaped him, with respect to the succession to the crown; assuring him, that he would not engage in any attempt contrary to the ties of blood and nature." He concluded with observing, "that it was never in his thoughts to give him such counsel." This letter confirmed all that Perseus had advanced against his brother. Herodotus was put to the torture, and died on the rack, without charging his master with any thing.

Perseus again accused his brother before the king. His having projected the design of flying to the Romans through Pæonia; and of bringing certain persons to accompany him in his flight, was imputed to him. But the circumstance which bore hardest against him was, the forged letter of Quintius. His father nevertheless did not declare himself publicly against him, resolving to make away with him secretly; not out of regard to his son, but lest the noise, which the bringing him to execution would make, should discover too vividly the designs he projected against Rome. At his leaving Thessalonica to go for Demetrius, he commanded Didas to dispatch the young prince. The latter having carried Demetrius with him into Pæonia, poisoned him at an entertainment that was made after a sacrifice. Demetrius had no sooner drank the deadly draught, but he found himself seized with violent pains. He withdrew to his apartment, complaining bitterly of his father's cruelty, and loudly charging his brother with the crime of fratricide, and Didas with his barbarous treachery. His pain increasing, two of Didas's domesticks entered the room, threw blankets over his head, and stifled him. Such was the end of this young prince, who deserved a much better fate.

(i) Almost two years were elapsed, before the conspiracy of Perseus against his brother was discovered. In the mean time Philip, tortured by grief and remorse, incessantly deplored his son's murder, and reproached himself with his cruelty. His surviving son, who looked upon himself already as king, and to whom the courtiers began to attach themselves, from the expectation that he would soon be their sovereign, gave

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him no less pain. It was infinitely shocking to him, to see his old age despised; some waiting with the utmost impatience for his death, and others even not waiting for it.

Among those who had access to him, Antigonus held the first rank. He was nephew of another * Antigonus, who had been Philip's guardian; and under that name, and in that quality, had reigned ten years. This worthy man had always continued inviolably attached, both from duty and affection, to the person of his prince, in the midst of the tumults and cabals of the court. Perseus had never cared for him; but this inviolable attachment to his father made him his professed enemy. Antigonus plainly perceived the danger to which he would be exposed, when that prince should succeed to the crown. Finding that Philip began to fluctuate in thought; and would, from time to time, sigh and weep for his son Demetrius, he thought it proper to take advantage of that disposition; when sometimes listening to his discourse on that subject, at other times beginning it himself, and regretting the precipitate manner in which that affair had been carried, he entered into his sentiments and complaints, and thereby gave them new force. And as truth always leaves some footsteps, by which it may be discerned, he used his utmost endeavours to trace out the secret intrigues of Perseus's conspiracy.

The persons who had the greatest concern in that black affair, and of whom the strongest suspicion might be entertained, were Apelles and Philocles, who had been sent ambassadors to Rome; and had brought from thence, as in the name of Quincius Flamininus, the letter which had proved so fatal to the young prince. It was generally whispered at court, that this whole letter was forged; but still this was only conjecture, and there was no proof of it. Very luckily, Nychus, who had accompanied Apelles and Philocles in quality of secretary of the embassy, happened upon some occasion to apply to Antigonus. Immediately he put him under an arrest, caused him to be carried to the palace, and leaving him under a strong guard, went to Philip. "I imagined (says he) royal sir, from several things I have heard you say, that nothing could give you greater pleasure, than to know exactly what idea you ought to entertain of your two sons; and to discover which of them it was that made an attempt on the other's life. You now have in your power the man who is best able to give you a perfect account of that whole affair, and this is Nychus. He is now
" in

* *II. was furnished Poison.*

“ in your palace, and you may command him to be sent for.” Cychus being immediately brought in, he first denied every thing; but he spoke so very faintly, that it was evident he would make a full discovery, upon being ever so little intimidated. Accordingly, the instant that the officer of justice appeared, he made a full confession, revealed the whole intrigue of the ambassadors, and the share he himself had in it. Immediately Philocles, who happened to be in court at that time, was seized; but Apelles, who was absent, hearing that Xychus had made a full discovery, fled to Italy. History does not inform us of the particulars which were extorted from Philocles. Some pretend, that after having resolutely denied the charge at first, he was utterly confounded upon his being confronted with Xychus. According to other historians, he bore the torture with the utmost fortitude, and asserted his innocence to the last gasp. All these things only revived the sorrow of Philip; a father equally wretched, whether he turned his reflections to his murdered son, or to him who was still living.

Perseus being informed that his whole plot had been discovered, knew too well his own power and credit, to believe it necessary to secure himself by flight. The only precaution he took was, a resolution to keep at a distance from court, as long as his father should live, in order to withdraw himself from his resentment.

Phillip did not believe it in his power to seize Perseus, and bring him to condign punishment. The only thought he then entertained was, to prevent his enjoying, with impunity, the fruits of his inhuman guilt. In this view, he sent for Antigonus, to whose great care he owed the discovery of the conspiracy; and whom he judged very well qualified, both on account of his personal merit, and of his uncle Antigonus's recent fame and glory, to fill the Macedonian throne. “ Reduced (says Philip) to the deplorable necessity of wishing that my fate, which other fathers detest as the most dreadful calamity that can befall them (the being childless) I now am resolving to bequeath to you a kingdom, which I owe to the guardianship of your uncle; and which he not only preserved by his fidelity, but enlarged considerably by his valour. I know no man worthy of the crown but yourself. And were there none capable of wearing it with dignity, I had infinitely rather it should be lost for ever, than that Perseus should have it, as the reward of his impious perfidy. Methinks, I shall see Demetrius rise from the sepulchre, and restored to his father, if I can be so

“ happy as to substitute you in his place; you, who only bewailed the untimely death of my dear son, and the unhappy credulity which proved his destruction.”

After this, he bestowed the highest honours on Antigonus, and took every opportunity of producing him in the most advantageous light to the publick. Whilst Perseus resided in Thrace, Philip made a progress through several cities of Macedon, and recommended Antigonus to all the noblemen of the greatest distinction, with the utmost zeal and affection; and, had fate allowed him a longer life, it was not doubted but he would have put him in possession of the throne. Having left Demetrias, he made a considerable stay in Thessalonica, from whence he went to Amphipolis, where he fell dangerously ill. The physicians declared, that his sickness proceeded more from his mind than his body. Grief kept him continually awake; and he frequently imagined he saw, in the dead of night, the ghost of the ill-fated Demetrius, reproaching him with his death, and calling down curses on his head. He expired, bewailing one of his sons with a shower of tears, and venting the most horrid imprecations against the other. Antigonus might have been raised to the throne, had the king's death been immediately divulged. Calligenes, the physician, who presided in all the consultations, did not stay till the king had breathed his last; but the very instant he saw that it was impossible for him to recover, he dispatched couriers to Perseus; it having been agreed between them, that he should keep some in readiness for that purpose; and he concealed the king's death from every body out of the palace, till Perseus appeared, whose sudden arrival surprized all people. He then took possession of the crown which he had acquired by guilt.

He reigned eleven years, the four last of which were employed in war against the Romans, for which he made preparations from his accession to the throne. At last, Paulus Æmilius gained a famous victory over him, which put an end to the kingdom of Macedon. To prevent my being obliged to divide and interrupt the series of Perseus's history, which has scarce any connection with that of the other kings, I shall refer it to the following book, where it shall be related at large, and without interruption.

SECT. II. *The death of SELEUCUS PHILOPATOR, whose reign was short and obscure. He is succeeded by his brother ANTIOCHUS, surnamed EPIPHANES. Sparks of the war which afterwards broke out between the kings of Egypt and Syria. ANTIOCHUS gains a victory over PTOLEMY. The conqueror possesses himself of Egypt, and takes the king prisoner. A report prevailing that there was a general revolt, he goes into Palestine; besieges and takes Jerusalem, where he exercises the most horrid cruelties. The Alexandrians, in the room of PHILOMETOR, who was ANTIOCHUS's prisoner, raise to the throne his younger brother PTOLEMY EVERGETES, surnamed also PHYSCON. ANTIOCHUS renews the war with Egypt. The two brothers are reconciled. He marches towards Alexandria, in order to lay siege to it. POPILIUS, one of the Roman ambassadors, obliges him to quit Egypt, and not to molest the two brothers.*

SELEUCUS Philopator did not reign long in Asia, nor did he perform any memorable action. Under him happened the famous incident concerning Heliodorus, related in the second book of (*k*) Maccabees. The holy city of Jerusalem enjoyed at that time profound tranquillity. Onias the high-priest, inspired by a spirit of piety, caused the laws of God to be strictly observed there; and prompted even kings and idolatrous princes to have the holy place in the highest veneration. They honoured it with rich gifts; and king Seleucus furnished, from his own private revenues, all that was necessary for the solemnization of the sacrifices. Nevertheless the perfidy of a Jew, called Simon, governor of the temple, raised on a sudden a great disorder in the city. This man, to revenge himself of the opposition which Onias the high-priest made to his unjust enterprizes, informed the king, that there were immense treasures in the temple, which were not designed for the service of the sacrifices, and that he might seize upon them all. The king, on this information, sent Heliodorus his first minister to Jerusalem, with orders to carry off all those treasures.

Heliodorus, after having been received by the high-priest with honours of every kind, told him the motive of his journey; and asked him, whether the information that had been given to the king, with regard to the treasure, was true? The high-priest told him, that these treasures were only deposited there as in trust, and were allotted to the maintenance

of widows and orphans; that he could not in any manner dispose of them in wrong of those to whom they belonged; and who imagined that they could not secure them better, than by depositing them in a temple, the holiness of which was revered throughout the whole universe. This treasure consisted of four hundred talents of silver (about 50,000*l.* sterling) and in 200 talents of gold (300,000*l.* sterling). However, the minister sent from the prince, insisting on the orders he had received from court, told him plainly, that this money, whatever might be the consequence, must all be carried to the king.

The day appointed for the carrying it off being come, Heliodorus came to the temple, with the resolution to execute his commission. Immediately the whole city was seized with the utmost terror. The priests, dressed in their sacerdotal vestments, fell prostrate at the foot of the altar; beseeching the God of heaven, who enacted the law with regard to deposits, to preserve those laid up in his temple. Great numbers flocked in crowds, and jointly besought the Creator upon their knees, not to suffer so holy a place to be profaned. The women and maidens, covered with sackcloth, were seen lifting up their hands to heaven. It was a spectacle truly worthy of compassion, to see such multitudes, and especially the high-priest, pierced with the deepest affliction, upon account of so impious a sacrilege.

By this time Heliodorus, with his guards, was come to the gate of the treasury and preparing to break it open. But the * spirit of the Almighty now revealed itself by the most sensible marks; insomuch that all those who had dared to obey Heliodorus were struck down by a divine power, and seized with a terror which bereaved them of all their faculties. For there appeared to them a horse richly caparisoned, which rushing at once upon Heliodorus, struck him several times with his fore feet. The man who sat on this horse had a terrible aspect, and his arms seemed of gold. At the same time were seen two young men, whose beauty dazzled the eye, and who, standing on each side of Heliodorus, scourged him incessantly, and in the most violent manner, with their whips. Heliodorus falling from his horse, was taken up and put into his litter; and this man, who a moment before had come into the temple, followed by a great train of guards, was forced away from this holy place, and had no one to succour him; and that, because the power of God had displayed itself

* Sed spiritus omnipotentis Dei magnam fecit suæ ostentationis evidentiam.

self in the strongest manner. By the same power he was cast to the ground, speechless, and without shewing the least sign of life; whilst the temple, which before resounded with nothing but lamentations, now echoed with the shouts of all the people, who returned thanks to the Almighty, for having raised the glory of his holy temple by the effect of his power.

But now some of Heliodorus's friends besought the high-priest to invoke God in his favour. Immediately Onias offered a sacrifice for his health. Whilst he was praying, the two young men above-mentioned appeared to Heliodorus, and said to him: "Return thanks to Onias the high-priest; for it is for his sake that the Lord has granted you life. After having been scourged from heaven, declare to the whole world his miraculous power." Having spoke these words, they vanished.

Heliodorus offered up sacrifices, and made solemn vows to him who had restored him to life. He returned thanks to Onias, and went his way; declaring to every one the wonderful works of the Almighty, to which he himself had been an eye-witness. The king asking him, whether he believed that another person might be sent with safety to Jerusalem, he answered, "In case you have an enemy, or any traitorous wretch who has a design upon your crown, send him thither, and you will see him return back quite freed with scourging, and he perhaps may die under it. For he who inhabiteth the heavens, is himself present in that place: he is the guardian and protector of it; and he strikes those mortally who go thither to injure it."

The king was soon punished for this sacrilegious act, by the very man whom he had commanded to plunder the temple. Antiochus the Great having, after his defeat at Sypilus, concluded the ignominious peace with the Romans before mentioned, had given them, among other hostages, Antiochus, one of his sons, and the younger brother of Seleucus. (1) He resided thirteen years in Rome. Seleucus his brother wanted him, but for what reason is not known (perhaps to put him at the head of some military expedition which he might judge him capable of executing;) and to obtain him, he sent Demetrius his only son, who was but twelve years of age, to Rome, as an hostage in Antiochus's room. (m) During the absence of the two heirs to the crown, one of whom was gone to Rome, and the other not returned from it, Heliodorus imagined he might, with very little difficulty,

D 5

seize

(1) Appian, in Syr. p. 116.

(m) A. M. 3829. Ant. J. C. 175.

seize upon it, by taking off Seleucus; and accordingly he poisoned him.

In this manner was fulfilled the prophecy of Daniel. After speaking of the death of Antiochus the Great he adds, *(n)* *Then shall stand up in his estate a raiser of taxes in the glory of the kingdom; but within few days * he shall be destroyed, neither in anger nor in battle.* These few words denote evidently the short and obscure reign of Seleucus, and the kind of death he was to die. The Hebrew text points him out still more clearly. *There shall arise up in his place (of Antiochus) a man who, as an extortioner, a collector of taxes, shall cause to pass away, and shall destroy the glory of the kingdom.* And indeed this was the sole employment of his reign. He was obliged to furnish the Romans, by the articles of the peace concluded between them, a thousand * talents annually; and the twelve years of this tribute end exactly with his life. He reigned but eleven years.

(o) Antiochus, afterwards surnamed Epiphanes, who was returning from Rome into Syria, had advice brought at Athens, of the death of his brother Seleucus. He was told, that the usurper had a very strong party, but that another was forming in favour of Ptolemy, whose claim was founded in right of his mother, the late king's sister. Antiochus had recourse to Eumenes king of Pergamus, and to Attalus his brother, who seated him on the throne, after having expelled Heliodorus.

The prophet Daniel, from verse 21. of chapter xi. to the end of chapter xii. foretels every thing that was to befall Antiochus Epiphanes, who was a cruel persecutor of the Jews, and who is pointed out elsewhere by the *(p)* *little horn which was to issue out of one of the four large horns.* I shall explain this prophecy hereafter.

Here (chap. xi. verse 21.) the prophet describes his accession to the throne. *And in his (Seleucus's) estate shall stand up a vile person, to whom they shall not give the honour of the kingdom: but he shall come in peaceably, and obtain the kingdom by flatteries.* Antiochus's conduct shall show how vile he was. It is said, *that to him they shall not give the honours of the kingdom.* He did not obtain the crown, either by right of birth, as his brother Seleucus had left behind him a son who was his lawful heir, or by the free choice of the people;

Eumenes

(n) Dan. xi. 20. *(o)* Appian. in Syr. p. 116, 117. Hieron. in Dan. *(p)* Dan. viii. 9.

* The Hebrew word may signify either days or years.

† About 350,000.

ies and Attalus having set it on his head. Being ed from the West *peaceably* (or rather *secretly*) to his rival, he won the hearts of the people by his artifices, specious appearance of clemency.

He assumed the title of *Epiphanes*, that is, *illustrious*; title was never worse applied. The whole series of his ill shew, that he deserved much more that of *Epimanes* or *furious*) which some people gave him.

The circumstances related of him prove how justly the *title* is bestowed upon him in scripture. He used freely to go out of his palace, accompanied only by two or domesticks, and ramble up and down the streets of An-

He would spend his time in talking with goldsmiths engravers in their shops; and in disputing with them on oft minute particulars relating to the arts they professed, which he ridiculously boasted he understood as well as

He would very often stoop so low as to converse with theregs of the populace, and mix indiscriminately with them in places where they were assembled. On these occasions would sit and drink with foreigners of the meanest condition of life. Whenever he heard of any party of pleasure-seeking young people, he used to go (without saying a word to any person) and join in all their wanton fooleries; would dance and sing with them, without observing the least order or decorum. He sometimes would take it into his head to disguise himself of his royal habit, and put on a Roman robe; in that garb would go from street to street, as he had seen the candidates do in the election for dignities. He asked the citizens to favour him with their votes, by giving his hand to one, by embracing another; and sometimes would go for ædile, and at other times for tribune. After having got himself elected, he would call for the Curule chair*; seating himself in it, he judged the petty suits relating to contracts of buying or selling; and pronounced sentence as much seriousness and gravity, as if he decided affairs of the utmost importance. We are likewise told, that he was much given to drinking; that he squandered away a great part of his revenues in excess and debauch; and that, when intoxicated in liquor, he would frequently scower up and down the city, throwing away handfuls of money among the populace, and crying, *Catch as catch can*. At other times, he would leave his palace (dressed in a Roman robe,

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with

(9) Athen. l. v. p. 193.

This was an ivory chair, which was allowed in Rome to none but the chief magistrates.

with a crown of roses on his head) and walk without attendants about the streets; on which occasions, if any person offered to follow him, he used to pelt him with stones, always carrying a great quantity under his robe for that purpose. He used often to go and bathe himself in the publick baths with the common people, where he committed such extravagances, as made every body despise him. After what has been said (and I omit a great many other particulars) I submit to the reader's judgment, whether Antiochus did not merit the title of *senseless*, rather than that of *illustrious*.

(*r*) Scarce was Antiochus well seated on the throne, but Jason, brother of Onias, the Jewish high-priest, having formed a design to supplant his brother, offered that prince, secretly, three-hundred-and-sixty talents (about ninety thousand pounds sterling) besides eighty more (about twelve thousand pounds) for another article, upon condition that he should appoint him high-priest. He succeeded in his negotiation; and accordingly Onias, who was universally revered for his strict piety and justice, was deposed, and Jason established in his room. The latter subverted entirely the religion of his ancestors, and brought infinite calamities upon the Jewish nation, as appears from the second book of the *Maccabees*, and *Josephus*.

(*s*) In Egypt, from the death of Ptolemy Epiphanes, Cleopatra his widow, sister of Antiochus Epiphanes, had assumed the regency, and the tuition of her young son; and had acquitted herself with the greatest care and prudence.

But dying that year, the regency fell to Lenæus, a nobleman of great distinction in that country; and Eulæus the eunuch was appointed to superintend the king's education. These were no sooner in their employments, but they sent a deputation to demand Cœlosyria and Palestine of Antiochus Epiphanes; a demand that very soon after occasioned a war between the two crowns. Cleopatra, who was mother of one of these kings, and sister to the other, had prevented them as long as she lived from coming to a rupture. But the new regents did not shew so much regard for Antiochus, nor scruple to demand of him what they believed their sovereign's right.

(*t*) It is certain, that the Egyptian monarchs had always possessed the sovereignty of these provinces from the first Ptolemy, till Antiochus the Great dispossessed Ptolemy Epiphanes of them, and left them to Seleucus his son, with no other right than

(*r*) A. M. 3830. Ant. J. C. 174. 2 Maccab. c. iv. (*s*) A. M. 3831. Ant. J. C. 173. Hieron. in Dan. (*t*) Polyb. in Legat. c. xxi—lxxxii.

than that of conquest. They had descended, from the latter, to his brother Antiochus.

The Egyptians, to enforce their pretensions, declared, that, in the last division of the empire between the four successors of Alexander, who possessed themselves of all countries after the battle of Issus, these provinces had been assigned to Ptolemy Soter; that himself, and his successors to the crown of Egypt, had enjoyed them from that time, till the battle of Paneas, the gaining of which had enabled Antiochus the Great to dispossess Egypt of those provinces: that this prince had stipulated, when he gave his daughter to the king of Egypt, to restore to him at the same time those provinces as her dowry; and that this was the principal article of the marriage-contract.

Antiochus denied both these facts; and pretended that, on the contrary, in the general division which had been made of Alexander's empire, all Syria (including Cœlosyria and Palestine) had been assigned to Seleucus Nicator; and that consequently they belonged justly to the prince in possession of the kingdom of Syria. With regard to the marriage-contract, by virtue of which the Egyptians demanded back those provinces, he asserted, that it was an absolute chimæra. In fine, after having given their reasons on both sides, without coming to any conclusion, they found it necessary to decide their pretensions by force of arms.

(u) Ptolemy Philometor, being entered his fifteenth year, was declared of age. Great preparations were made in Alexandria for the solemnity of his coronation, according to the Egyptian custom. Antiochus sent Apollonius, one of the chief noblemen of his court, with the character of ambassador, to be present on that occasion, and to congratulate him upon it in his name. This, in outward appearance, was done in honour of his nephew; but the real motive was, to discover, if possible, the designs of that court with respect to the provinces of Cœlosyria and Palestine, as well as what measures were taking with regard to them. The instant he heard, on the return of Apollonius, that all things were preparing for war, he went by sea to Joppa, visited the frontiers of the country, and put it into a condition of defending itself against all the attacks of the Egyptians.

In his progress, he took Jerusalem in his way. Jason and the whole city received him there with the greatest pomp and magnificence. Notwithstanding the honours paid him in Jerusalem, he afterwards brought great calamities on that city

city and the whole Jewish nation. From Jerusalem he went to Phoenicia, and after having settled all things in every place through which he passed, he returned to Antioch.

(x) The same Apollonius had been sent by Antiochus to Rome, at the head of an embassy. He made excuses to the senate for his master's having sent the tribute later than was stipulated by the treaty. Besides the sum due, he made a present to the people of several golden vases. He demanded, in that prince's name, that the alliance and friendship, which had been granted his father, should be renewed with him; and desired that the Romans would give him such orders as suited a king, who valued himself on being their affectionate and faithful ally. He added, that his sovereign could never forget the great favours he received from the senate; from all the youths of Rome; and from persons of all ranks and conditions during his abode in that city, where he had been treated, not merely as an hostage, but as monarch. The senate made an obliging answer to these several particulars, and dismissed Apollonius, with the highest marks of distinction, and laden with presents. It was well known, from the Roman ambassadors who had been in Syria, that he was very much esteemed by the king, and had the highest regard for the Romans.

(y) Jason, the year following, sent his brother Menelaus to Antioch, to pay the tribute to the king, and to negotiate some other affairs of great importance. But that perfidious wretch, in the audience to which he was admitted, instead of confining himself to the orders of his commission, supplanted his brother, and obtained his office, by offering three hundred talents more than he did. This new choice gave rise to tumults, disorders, murders, and sacrilegious acts; but the death of Onias, who was universally beloved and revered, crowned the whole. Antiochus, though so very hard-hearted, however lamented his death, and brought the murderer to condign punishment. I make only a transient mention of these facts, and omit the principal circumstances of them, because they belong properly to the history of the Jews, which does not enter into my plan, and of which I relate only such particulars at large as are too important to be entirely omitted, or abridged in such a manner as to preserve their beauty.

(z) Antiochus

(x) Liv. l. xl. n. 6. (y) A. M. 3834. Ant. J. C. 173. 2 Maccab. iv. 23, &c.

(*z*) Antiochus, who, from the return of Apollonius from the Egyptian court, had been preparing for war, with which he saw himself threatened by Ptolemy, on account of Coelosyria and Palestine; finding himself in a condition to begin it, resolved not to wait for it in his own dominions, but to carry his arms into the enemy's country. He imagined that, as Ptolemy was but sixteen, and was governed entirely by weak ministers, he should be able to bring him to what terms he pleased. He was persuaded that the Romans, under whose protection the Egyptians had put themselves, were engaged in so many affairs, that it would be impossible for them to give the latter the least succour; and that the war they were carrying on against Perseus, king of Macedon, would not allow them leisure for it. In a word, he thought the present juncture very favourable for him to decide his difference with the Egyptians on account of those provinces.

In the mean time, to observe measures with the Romans, he sent ambassadors to the senate to represent the right he had to the provinces of Coelosyria and Palestine, of which he was actually possessed, and the necessity he was under of engaging in a war in order for the support of them; immediately after which he put himself at the head of his army, and marched towards the frontiers of Egypt. Ptolemy's army came up with his near mount Casius and Pelusium; and fought a battle in which Antiochus was victorious. He made so good an use of his success, that he put the frontier in a condition to serve as a barrier, and to check the utmost efforts the Egyptians might make to recover those provinces. This was his first expedition into Egypt: after which, without engaging in any other enterprize that year, he returned to Tyre, and made the neighbourhood of it the winter-quarters for his army.

(*a*) During his stay there, three persons deputed from the Sanhedrim of Jerusalem, came to complain of Menelaus, whom they proved to be guilty in his presence of impiety and sacrilege. The king was going to condemn him, but at the request of Ptolemy Macron, one of his ministers in the interest of Menelaus, he cleared him, and put to death the three deputies as false witnesses; *an action*, says the author of the Maccabees, (*b*) *so very unjust, that before the Scythians, they would have been judged innocent.* The Tyrians, touched with com-

(*z*) A. M. 3833. Ant. J. C. 171. Liv. l. xlii. n. 9. Polyb. in Legat. c. lxxi, lxxii. Justin. l. xxiv. c. 2. Diod. legat. xviii. Hieron. to Daniel. (*a*) A. M. 3834. Ant. J. C. 170. 2 Maccab. iv. 44—50.
(*b*) 2 Maccab. iv. 47.

compassion at their unhappy fate, gave them honourable interment.

(c) This Ptolemy Macron, having formerly been governor of the island of Cyprus under king Ptolemy Philometor, had kept in his own hands, during the minority of that monarch, all the revenues of that country; and could never be prevailed on to deliver them up to the ministers, though they made the warmest instances upon that head; but had constantly refused to regard them, from justly suspecting their fidelity. At the coronation of the king, he brought the whole treasure to Alexandria, and deposited it in the exchequer. A rare instance of a noble disregard of wealth, in a man who had all the finances at his disposal! So considerable a sum, and coming at a time when the government was in extreme want of money, had done him great honour, and gained him prodigious credit at court. But afterwards, exasperated at some ill treatment, he met with from the ministers, or at his not having been rewarded for so important a service, he rebelled against Ptolemy, entered into Antiochus's service, and delivered up the island of Cyprus to him. That king received him with infinite satisfaction, took him into the number of his confidants, made him governor of Cœlosyria and Palestine; and sent to Cyprus, in his room, Crates, who had commanded in the castle at Jerusalem under Sostratus. Large mention is made of this Ptolemy Macron in the books of the Maccabees.

(d) Antiochus spent the whole winter in making fresh preparations for a second expedition into Egypt; and, the instant the season would permit it, invaded that country both by sea and land. Ptolemy had raised a very considerable army, but without success; for Antiochus gained a second battle on the frontiers, took the city of Pelusium, and marched to the very center of Egypt. In this last defeat of the Egyptians, it was in his power not to have suffered a single man to escape; but, the more completely to ruin his nephew, instead of making use of the advantage he had gained, he himself rode up and down on all sides, and obliged his soldiers to discontinue the slaughter. This clemency gained him the hearts of the Egyptians; and when he advanced into the country, all the inhabitants came in crowds to pay their submission to him; so that he soon took Memphis and all the rest of Egypt, except Alexandria, which alone held out against him.

Philometor

(c) Polyb. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 126. 2 Maccab. x. 13. viii. 8. iv. 29. & 1 Maccab. iii. 18. (d) 2 Mac. v. 1. 1 Maccab. i. 37—20. Hieron. in Dan. Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 311.

Philometor was either taken, or else surrendered himself to Antiochus, who set him at full liberty. After this, they had but one table; lived, seemingly, in great friendship; and, for some time, Antiochus affected to be extremely careful of the interests of the young king his nephew, and to regulate his affairs as his guardian. But, when he had once possessed himself of the country, under that pretext he seized whatever he thought fit, plundered all places, and enriched himself, as well as his soldiers, with the spoils of the Egyptians.

(e) Philometor made a miserable figure all this time. In the field, he had always kept as far as possible from danger, and had not even shewn himself to those who fought for him. And after the battle, in how abject a manner did he submit himself to Antiochus, by whom he suffered himself to be disposed of so fine a kingdom, without undertaking any thing to preserve it! This, however, was not so much owing to want of courage and natural capacity (for he afterwards gave proofs of both) as the effect of his soft and effeminate education under Eulaeus his governor. That eunuch, who also was his prime minister, had used his utmost endeavours to plunge him in luxury and effeminacy, in order to make him incapable of affairs, and to make himself as necessary when the young prince should be of age, as he had been during his minority; and thereby engross all power in his own hands.

(f) Whilst Antiochus was in Egypt, a false report of his death spread throughout Palestine. Jason thought this a proper opportunity to recover the employment he had lost in that country. Accordingly he marched with a few more than a thousand men to Jerusalem; and there, by the assistance of his partizans in the city, made himself master of it; drove out Menelaus, who withdrew to the citadel, exercised every species of cruelty upon his fellow citizens, and unmercifully put to death all those that fell into his hands, and whom he considered as his enemies.

When advice of this was brought Antiochus in Egypt, he concluded that the Jews had made a general insurrection, and therefore set forward immediately to quell it. The circumstance which mostly exasperated him was, his being informed that the inhabitants of Jerusalem had made great rejoicings, when a false report had prevailed of his death. He therefore

(e) Justin. l. xxxiv. c. 2. Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 310.

(f) 1 Maccab. i. 20—29. 2 Maccab. v. 15—21. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 7. Diod. l. xxxiv. Eclrog. 1. Hieron. in Dan.

therefore besieged the city, took it by storm; and during the three days that it was abandoned to the fury of the soldiers, he caused fourscore thousand men to be inhumanly butchered. 40,000 were also taken prisoners, and the like number sold to the neighbouring nations.

But not yet satisfied, this impious monarch entered forcibly into the temple as far as the sanctuary and the most sacred places; even polluting, by his presence, the holy of holies, whither the traitor Menelaus led him. After this, adding sacrilege to profanation, he carried away the altar of perfumes, the table for the shew-bread, the candlestick with seven branches belonging to the sanctuary (all these were of gold;) with several other vases, utensils, and gifts of kings, also of gold. He plundered the city, and returned to Antioch laden with the spoils of Judea and Egypt, all which together amounted to immense sums. To complete the calamity of the Jews, Antiochus, at his setting out, appointed, as governor over Judea, a Phrygian, Philip by name, a man of great cruelty: he nominated Andronicus, a man of the like barbarous disposition, governor of Samaria; and bestowed on Menelaus, the most wicked of the three, the title of high-priest, investing him with the authority annexed to that office.

(g) Such was the beginning of the calamities which had been foretold to Jerusalem by strange phenomenas in the skies, that had appeared there, some time before, during forty days successively. These were men, some on horseback, and others on foot, armed with shields, lances, and swords, who forming considerable bodies, combated in the air like two armies in battle.

(h) The Alexandrians seeing Philometor in the hands of Antiochus, whom he suffered to govern his kingdom at discretion, considered him as lost to them, and therefore seated his younger brother upon the throne, which they first declared void. (i) On this occasion he had the name of Ptolemy Evergetes II. given him, which was soon changed to that of Ceregetes; the former signifying *beneficent*, and the latter *malevolent*. He afterwards was nicknamed † *Physcon*, or *tum-bellied*, because his immoderate eating had made him remarkably corpulent. (k) Most historians mention him under

(g) 2 Maccab. v. 2-4.

(h) Porphyr. in Græc. Euseb. Scalig.

(i) Athen. l. iv. p. 184.

(k) Iolyb. in Leg. c. lxxxi.

* We are told in the Maccabees, 2 Macc. vi. 1. ver. 14. that he carried off from the temple, only eighteen hundred talents, which are equivalent

to about 200,000 l. sterling.

† φίσκων ventriculus, obesus, from φάσκα, Crassum intestinum, venter.

the latter epithet. Cineas and Cumanus were appointed chief ministers, and were ordered to use their utmost avours to restore, if possible, the affairs of the kingdom to their former flourishing condition.

Antiochus, who had advice of what was transacting, took occasion thereupon to return a third time into Egypt, under specious pretence of restoring the dethroned monarch; in reality, to make himself absolute master of the kingdom. He defeated the Alexandrians in a sea-fight near Pharos, marched his forces into Egypt, and advanced directly towards Alexandria, in order to besiege it. The young king consulted his two ministers, who advised him to convene a grand council, composed of all the principal officers of the army; and to deliberate with them on the measures proper to be taken in the present exigency. After long debates, they came at last to this resolution; that, as affairs were reduced to so low an ebb, it would be absolutely necessary for them to endeavour a reconciliation with Antiochus; and that the ambassadors of the several states of Greece, who were in Alexandria at that time, should be desired to employ their mediation; to which they readily consented.

They went by water up the river to Antiochus with the offers of peace, accompanied by two of Ptolemy's ambassadors, who had the same instructions. He gave them a very honourable reception in his camp, regaled them that day in a magnificent manner, and appointed them to make their proposals on the morrow. The Achæans spoke first, and afterwards the rest in their turns. All were unanimous in their accusation of Eulaeus; ascribing the calamities of the kingdom to his mal-administration, and to the minority of Ptolemy's son. At the same time, they apologized in a very plausible manner for the new king, and employed all the powers of their rhetoric to move Antiochus in his favour, in order to induce him to treat with Ptolemy; laying great stress on their affinity.

Antiochus, in the answer he gave, agreed entirely with them as to the cause and origin of the war; took occasion thence to enforce the right he had to Coelosyria and Cilicia; alledged the reasons we have related above; and produced some authentick instruments, which were judged strong, that all the members of this congress were convinced that he had the justest right to those provinces. As to the offers of the peace, he postponed them till another opportunity; promising them that he would make preparations for

a solemn treaty, as soon as two absent persons, whom he named, should be with him; declaring, at the same time, that he would not take a single step without them.

After this answer he decamped, came to Naucratis, marched from thence to Alexandria, and began to besiege it.. (1) In this extremity, Ptolemy Evergetes, and Cleopatra his sister, who were in the city, sent ambassadors to Rome, representing the calamity to which they were reduced, and imploring the aid of the Romans. The ambassadors appeared, in the audience to which they were admitted by the senate, with all the marks of sorrow used at that time in the greatest afflictions, and made a speech still more affecting. They observed, that the authority of the Romans was so much revered by all nations and kings; and that Antiochus, particularly, had received so many obligations from them, that, if they would only declare by their ambassadors, that the senate did not approve of his making war against kings in alliance with Rome, they did not doubt but Antiochus would immediately draw off his troops from Alexandria, and return to Syria. That, should the senate refuse to afford them their protection, Ptolemy and Cleopatra, being expelled from their kingdom, would be immediately reduced to fly to Rome; and that it would reflect a dishonour on the Romans, should the world have an opportunity to say, that they had neglected to aid the king and queen, at a time when their affairs were so desperate.

The senate, moved with their remonstrances, and persuaded that it would not be for the interest of the Romans to suffer Antiochus to attain to such an height of power, which would be too formidable, should he unite the crown of Egypt to that of Syria, resolved to send an embassy to Egypt, to put an end to the war. C. Popilius Lenas, C. Decimus, and C. Hostilius, were appointed for this important negotiation. The instructions were, that they should first wait upon Antiochus, and afterwards on Ptolemy; should order them, in the name of the senate, to suspend all hostilities, and put an end to the war: and that, should either of the parties refuse compliance, the Romans would no longer consider them as their friend and ally. As the danger was imminent, three days after the resolution had been taken in the senate, they set out from Rome with the Egyptian ambassadors.

(m) A little before their departure, some Rhodian ambassadors arrived in Egypt, who came expressly to terminate, if

(1) Liv. l. xliv. n. 19. Polyb. Legat. xc. lxxiv.

(m) Polyb. Legat.

offible, the divisions between the two crowns. They ed at Alexandria, and went from thence to Antiochus's p. They did all that lay in their power to induce him to accommodation with the king of Egypt; strongly insisting he friendship with which both crowns had so long honour-rem; and how nearly it concerned them to employ their offices, in order to settle a lasting peace between them. hey expatiated considerably on these common places, Antiochus interrupted them, and declared in few words, that he had no occasion to make long harangues on this subject; the crown belonged to the elder of the two brothers, whom he had concluded a peace, and contracted a strict friendship; that, if he were recalled and replaced upon the throne, the war would be ended at once.

(*) He said these words, but harboured a very different view; his view being only to perplex affairs, for the attainment of his own ends. The resistance he met with from Alexandria, the siege of which he plainly saw he should be obliged to raise, obliged him to change his plan, and conclude, that it would henceforwards be his interest to keep up amity, and occasion a war between the two brothers, which might weaken them to such a degree, that it should be in his power to overpower both whenever he pleased. In this view he raised the siege, marched towards Memphis, and gave Philometor, in outward appearance, possession of the whole kingdom, Pelusium excepted, which he kept as a key for entering Egypt when he pleased, and the instant matters should be ripe for his purpose. After having made these dispositions, he returned to Antioch.

Philometor began at last to wake from the lethargy into which his indolent effeminacy had plunged him, to be sensible of all the calamities these revolutions had brought upon him.

He had even natural penetration enough to see through Antiochus's design; and that king's keeping possession of Pelusium entirely opened his eyes. He saw plainly, that he held this key of Egypt with no other view but to re-enter by it when his brother and himself should be reduced so low as to be unable to make the least resistance; and that then both should fall victims to his ambition. The instant therefore Antiochus marched away, he sent to inform his brother, that he desired they might come to an accommodation, which he accordingly effected, by the mediation of Cleopatra, his sister, on condition that the two brothers should reign jointly. Philometor returned to Alexandria, and Egypt

was

was restored to its former tranquillity, to the great joy of the inhabitants, particularly those of Alexandria, who had suffered exceedingly during the war.

Had Antiochus spoke from his heart, when he declared that the sole design of his coming into Egypt was to restore Philometor to his throne, he would have been pleased to hear that the two brothers were reconciled. But he was far from entertaining such thoughts; and I before observed, that he concealed, beneath those specious professions, an intention to crush the two brothers, after they should have reduced each other by a war.

(e) The brothers, convinced that Antiochus would again invade them with great vigour, sent ambassadors into Greece to desire some auxiliary forces from the Achæans. The assembly was held in Corinth. The two kings requested only 1000 foot under the command of Lycortas, and a horse under Polybius. They had also given orders for raising 1000 mercenary troops. — Callicrates, who presided in the assembly, opposed the request made by the ambassadors, upon pretence that it would not be for the interest of the Achæan confederates, to concern themselves in any manner with foreign affairs; but that they ought to preserve their soldiers to be in a condition to aid the Romans, who, it was believed, would soon come to a battle with Perseus. Lycortas and Polybius then speaking, observed, among other things, that Polybius having been the year before with Marcius, who commanded the Roman army in Macedonia, to offer him aid which the Achæan league had decreed to send him; the consul thanked him, and said, that as he had got footing in Macedonia, he should not want the aid of the allies; and therefore that the Achæans could not have that pretext for abandoning the kings of Egypt. Besides, that as the league was able, without the least inconveniency, to levy 40,000 men; consequently so small a number as was desired by the Egyptian princes would not lessen their strength. That the Achæan confederates ought to embrace the opportunity they now had of aiding the two kings; that it would be the highest ingratitude in them, to forget the favours they had received from the Egyptians; and that their refusal on this occasion would be a violation of the treaties and oaths by which the alliance was founded. As the majority were for granting the aid, Callicrates dismissed the ambassadors, upon pretence that it was contrary to the laws, to debate on an affair of that nature in such an assembly.

herefore was held, some time after, in Sicily; and members were upon the point of taking the same reso-

Callicrates read a forged letter from Q. Marcius, by which the Achæans were exhorted to employ their mediation in terminating the war between the two Ptolemies and Antiochus; and in consequence caused a decree to pass, whereby the two confederates agreed to send only an embassy to the princes.

The instant that Antiochus heard of the reconciliation of the two brothers, he resolved to employ his whole power against them. Accordingly, he sent his fleet early into Sicily, to preserve the possession of that island: at the same time he marched at the head of a very powerful land-army, with the design to conquer Egypt openly, and not pretend to do what he had before done, to fight the cause of one of his brothers. Upon his arrival at Rhinocorura, he found ambassadors from Philometor, who told him, that their sovereign was sensible that he owed his restoration to Antiochus; and conjured him not to destroy his own work by employment of arms and sword; but, on the contrary, to acquaint himself with his pretensions. Antiochus, throwing off the mask, no longer used the tender and affectionate expressions, which he had till then been so ostentatiously lavish, but declared himself at once an enemy to both. He told the ambassadors, that he insisted upon having the island of Cyprus, the city of Pelusium, and all the land along the arm of the Nile, on which it was situated, resigned to him for ever; and that he was determined to conclude a peace with them, on no other conditions. He also fixed a day for a final answer to his demand.

Time being elapsed, and the satisfaction he pretended to require not being made, he began hostilities; penetrated as far as Memphis, subjecting the whole country through which he passed; and there received the submission of almost the rest of the kingdom. He afterwards marched toward Alexandria, with design to besiege that city, the possession of which would have made him absolute master of all Egypt. He would certainly have succeeded in his enterprize, had he not been checked in his career by the Roman embassy, which broke all the measures he had been so long taking, in order to possess himself of Egypt.

Before observed, that the ambassadors, who were now sent to go to Egypt, had left Rome with the utmost diligence.

gence. They landed at Alexandria, just at the time Antiochus was marching to besiege it. The ambassadors came up with him at * Eleusine, which was not a mile from Alexandria. The king seeing Popilius, with whom he had been intimately acquainted at Rome, when he was an hostage in that city, opened his arms to embrace him, as his old friend. The Roman, who did not consider himself on that occasion as a private man, but a servant of the publick, desired to know, before he answered his compliment, whether he spoke to a friend, or an enemy of Rome. He then gave him the decree of the senate, bid him read it over, and return him an immediate answer. Antiochus, after perusing it, said, that he would examine the contents of it with his friends, and give his answer in a short time. Popilius, enraged at the king for talking of delays, drew, with the wand he held in his hand, a circle round Antiochus, and then raising his voice; *Answer, says he, the senate, before you stir out of that circle.* The king, quite confounded at so haughty an order, after a moment's reflection, replied, that he would act according to the desire of the senate. Popilius then received his civilities, and behaved afterwards in all respects as an old friend. † How effectual was this blunt loftiness of sentiments and expression. The Roman with a few words strikes terror into the king of Syria, and saves the king of Egypt.

The circumstance which made the one so bold, and the other so submissive, was the news that arrived just before of the great victory gained by the Romans over Perseus king of Macedonia. From that instant every thing gave way before them; and the Roman name grew formidable to all princes and nations.

Antiochus having left Egypt at the time stipulated, Popilius returned with his colleagues to Alexandria, where he signed the treaty of union between the two brothers, which had not been executed before. He then crossed into Cyprus; sent home Antiochus's fleet, which had gained a victory over that of the Egyptians; restored the whole island to the king of Egypt, who laid a just claim to it; and returned to Rome in order to acquaint the senate with the success of his embassy.

Ambassadors from Antiochus, the two Ptolemies, and Cleopatra their sister, arrived there almost at the same time.

THE

* *Turnebius and H. Valesius think that we should read, in Liny, Eleusinem instead of Leuſinem.*

† *Quam efficax est animi sermo-*

nisque abscissa gravitas! Eodem momento Syrix regnum terruit, Egypti texit. Val. Max. l. vi. c. 4.

The former said, "That the peace which the senate had been pleased to grant their sovereign, appeared to him more glorious than the most splendid conquests; and that he obeyed the commands of the Roman ambassadors as strictly as if they had been sent from the gods." How grovelling, and, at the same time, how impious was all this! They afterwards congratulated the Romans on the victory they had gained over Perseus. The rest of the ambassadors declared, in the like extravagant strain, "That the two Ptolemies and Cleopatra thought themselves bound in as great obligations to the senate and people of Rome, as to their parents, and even to the gods; having been delivered, by the protection which Rome had granted them, from a very grievous siege; and re-established on the throne of their ancestors, of which they had been almost entirely dispossessed." The senate answered, "That Antiochus acted wisely in paying obedience to the ambassadors; and that the people and senate of Rome were pleased with him for it." Methinks this is carrying the spirit of haughtiness as high as possible. With regard to Ptolemy and Cleopatra, it was answered; "That the senate were very much pleased with the opportunity of doing them some service, and that they would endeavour to make them sensible, that they ought to look upon the friendship and protection of the Romans, as the most solid support of their kingdom." The prætor was then ordered to make the ambassadors the usual presents.

SECT. III. ANTIOCHUS, *enraged at what had happened in Egypt, wreaks his vengeance on the Jews. He endeavours to abolish the worship of the true God in Jerusalem. He exercises the most horrid cruelties in that city. The generous resistance made by MATTATHIAS, who, in his expiring moments, exhorts his sons to fight in defence of the law of God. JUDAS MACCABEUS gains several victories over the generals and armies of ANTIOCHUS. That prince, who had marched into Persia, in order to amass treasures there, attempts to plunder a rich temple in Elymais, but is shamefully repulsed. Hearing that his armies had been defeated in Judæa, he sets out on a sudden to extirpate all the Jews. In his march, he is struck by the hand of heaven, and dies in the greatest torments, after having reigned eleven years.*

(1) **A**NTIOCHUS, at his return from Egypt, exasperated to see himself forcibly dispossessed by the Romans of a crown which he looked upon already as his
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(1) A. M. 3835. Ant. J. C. 168. 1 Maccab. i. 30—40. and ii. ver. 14—27. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 7.

own, made the Jews, though they had not offended him in any manner, feel the whole weight of his wrath. In his march through Palestine, he detached 22,000 men, the command of whom he gave to Apollonius, with orders to destroy the city of Jerusalem.

Apollonius arrived there just two years after this city had been taken by Antiochus. At his first coming, he did not behave in any manner as if he had received such cruel orders and waited till the first day of the sabbath before he executed them. But then, seeing all the people assembled peacefully in the synagogues, and paying their religious worship to the Creator, he put in execution the barbarous commission he had received; and setting all his troops upon them, commanded them to cut to pieces all the men; and to seize all the women and children, in order that they might be exposed to sale. These commands were obeyed with the utmost cruelty and rigour. Not a single man was spared; all they could find being cruelly butchered, inasmuch that every part of the city streamed with blood. The city was afterwards plundered and fire set to several parts of it, after all the rich moveables had been carried off. They demolished such parts of the house as were still standing; and, with the ruins, built a strong fort on the top of one of the hills of the city of David opposite to the temple, which it commanded. They threw a strong garrison into it, to awe the whole Jewish nation; they made it a good place of arms, furnished with good magazines, where they deposited all the spoils taken in the plunder of the city.

From hence the garrison fell on all who came to worship the true God in the temple; and shed their blood on every part of the sanctuary, which they polluted by all possible methods. A stop was put to both morning and evening sacrifices, not one of the servants of the true God daring to come and adore him there.

(r) As soon as Antiochus was returned to Antioch, he published a decree, by which the several nations in his dominions were commanded to lay aside their ancient religious ceremonies, and their particular usages; and to profess the same religion with the king, and to worship the same gods, and after the same manner as he did. This decree, though expressed in general terms, glanced nevertheless chiefly at the Jews, whom he was absolutely determined to extirpate, as well as their religion.

(r) 1 Maccab. i. 41-64. & 2 Maccab. vi. 1-7. Joseph. Antiq. xii. c. 7.

order that this edict might be punctually executed, he intendants into all the provinces of his empire, who commanded to see it put in execution; and to instruct the people in all the ceremonies and customs to which they were to conform.

The Gentiles obeyed with no great reluctance. Though they seem not to have been affected with the change of their religion, or gods, they however were not very well pleased with this innovation in religious matters. No people seemed more eager to comply with the orders of the court than the Samaritans. They presented a petition to the king, in which they declared themselves not to be Jews; and desired that their temple, built on mount Gerizim, which, till then, had not been dedicated to any deity in particular *, might henceforth be dedicated to the *Grecian Jupiter*, and be called by his name. Antiochus received their petition very graciously, and ordered Nicanor, deputy-governor of the province of Samaria, to dedicate their temple to the Grecian deity, as they had desired, and not to molest them in any manner.

But the Samaritans were not the only apostates who forsook their God and their law in this trial. Several Jews, in order to escape the persecution, to ingratiate themselves with the king or his officers, or else from inclination and liberality, changed also their religion. From these different causes many fell from Israel (1); and several of those who once taken this wicked step, joining themselves with the heathen forces, became (as is but too common) greater persecutors of their unhappy brethren than the heathens themselves, and employed to execute this barbarous commission.

The intendant, who was sent into Judæa and Samaria, to see the king's decree was punctually obeyed, was called *Heliodorus*, a man advanced in years, and extremely well versed in all the ceremonies of the Grecian idolatry, who, for that reason, was judged a fit person to invite those nations to conform to it. As soon as he arrived in Jerusalem, he began by putting a stop to the sacrifices which were offered up to the God of Israel, and suppressing all the observances of the Jewish law. They polluted the temple in such a manner, that it was no longer fit for the service of God; profaned the Sabbaths and other festivals; forbid the circumcision of the Jews; carried off and burnt all the copies of the law

E 2

wherever

(1) 1 Maccab. vi. 21—24.

they expressed themselves in that | God of Israel (Jehovah) was never
because the mighty name of the | uttered by the Jews.

wherever they could find them; abolished all the ordinances of God in every part of the country; and put to death whoever was found to have acted contrary to the decree of the king. The Syrian soldiers, and the intendant who commanded over them, were the chief instruments by which the Jews were converted to the religion professed by the sovereign.

To establish it the sooner in every part of the nation, altars and chapels filled with idols were erected in every part of the city, and sacred groves were planted. They set officers over these, who caused all the people in general to offer sacrifices in them every month, the day of the month on which the king was born, who made them eat swine's flesh, and other unclean animals sacrificed there.

(1) One of these officers, Apelles by name, came to Modin, the residence of Mattathias, of the sacerdotal race, a venerable man, and extremely zealous for the law of God. He was son to John, and grandson to Simon, from whose father, Asmoneus, the family was called Asmoneans. With him were his five sons, all brave men, and fired with as ardent a zeal for the law of God as himself. These were Joannan, surnamed *Gadlis*; Simon, surnamed *Tbafi*; Judas, surnamed *Maccabeus*; Eleazar, called *Abaron*; and Jonathan, called *Appbus*. Being arrived in Modin, Apelles assembled the inhabitants, and explained to them the purport of his commission. Directing himself afterwards to Mattathias, he endeavoured to persuade him to conform to the king's orders, in hopes that the conversion of so venerable a man would induce all the rest of the inhabitants to follow his example. He promised, that in case of his compliance, the king would rank him in the number of his friends, and appoint him a member of his council; and that himself and his sons should be raised, by the court, to the greatest honours and preferments. Mattathias said, so loud as to be heard by the whole assembly, that though all the nations of the earth should obey king Antiochus, and all the people of Israel should abandon the law of their forefathers, and obey his ordinances, yet himself, his children, and his brothers, would adhere forever inviolably to the law of God.

After

(1) 1 Maccab. ii. 1-30. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 8.

* *Esti omnes gentes regi Antiocho obediunt, ut discedat unusquisque à servitute legis patrum suorum, & consentiat mandatis ejus: ego, & filii mei, et fratres mei, obediemus legi patrum nostrorum.*

After having made this declaration, seeing a Jew going up to the altar which the Heathens had raised, to sacrifice there in obedience to the king's injunction; fired with a zeal like that of Phineas, and transported with a * just and holy indignation, he fell upon the apostate and killed him: after this, being assisted by his sons, and some others who joined them, he also killed the king's commissioner and all his followers. Having in a manner thrown up the standard by this bold action, he cried aloud in the city; † *Whosoever is zealous of the law (u), and maintaineth the covenants, let him follow me.* As he now had assembled his whole family, and all who were truly zealous for the worship of God, he retired with them to the mountains, whither they soon were followed by others; so that all the desarts of Judæa were filled, in a little time, with people who fled from the persecution.

(x) At first, when the Jews were attacked on the sabbath, for fear of violating the holiness of the day, they did not dare to make the least defence, but suffered themselves to be cut to pieces. However they soon became sensible, that the law of the sabbath was not binding to persons in such imminent danger as themselves.

(y) Advice being brought Antiochus, that his decrees were not so implicitly obeyed in Judæa as in all other nations, he went thither in person, in order to see them put in execution. He then exercised the most horrid cruelties over all such Jews as refused to abjure their religion; in order to force the rest, by the dread of the like inhuman treatment, to comply with what was required of them. (z) At this time happened the martyrdom of Eleazar; of the mother and her seven sons, commonly called the Maccabees. Although their history is universally known, they appear to me so important and relate so nearly to Antiochus, whose life I am now writing, that I cannot prevail with myself to omit it. I shall therefore repeat it in almost the very words of scripture.

The extreme violence of the persecution occasioned many to fall away: but, on the other side, several continued inflexible, and chose to suffer death, rather than pollute themselves by eating impure meats. Eleazar was one of the most illustrious among these. He was a venerable old man, ninety

E 3

years

(u) 1 Maccab. vii. 27.

Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 8.

Joseph. de Maccab. c. iv. & v.

(x) Ibid. ii. 31—47. 2 Maccab. vi. 11.

(y) A. M. 3857. Ant. J. C. 167.

(z) 2 Maccab. c. vi. & vii.

* God had commanded his people to say those words should persuade them to sacrifice to idols. See Deut. ch. xii.

ver. 6—11.

† Omnis, qui zelum habet legis, statuens testamentum, exeat post me.

years of age, and a doctor of the law, whose life had one continued series of spotless innocence. He was commanded to eat swine's flesh, and endeavours were used to make him swallow it, by forcibly opening his mouth. Eleazar, preferring a glorious life to a criminal death, went voluntarily to execution; and persevering in his absolute patience, was determined not to infringe the law to his life.

His friends who were present, moved with an unjust passion, took him aside, and earnestly besought him to permit them to bring him such meats as he was allowed to eat in order that it might be imagined, that he had eaten of the meats of the sacrifice, pursuant to the king's command; by that means save his life. But Eleazar, considering what great age, the noble and generous sentiments he was born with, and the life of purity and innocence which he had led from his infancy, required of him, answered, pursuant to the ordinances of the holy law of God, that he would rather die than consent to what was desired from him. "It would be shameful," says he to them, "for me, at my age to use such an artifice, as many young men, upon the supposition that Eleazar, at fourscore-and-ten years of age, had embraced the principles of the Heathens, would have imposed upon by such deceit, which I should have employed to preserve the short remains of a corruptible life; thereby I should dishonour my old age, and expose it to the censure of all men. Besides, supposing I should by this means avoid the punishment of men, I could never be freed from the hand of the Almighty, neither in this world nor in that which is to come. For this reason, if I should lay down my life courageously, I shall appear worthy of my age; and still leave behind me, for the imitation of your people, an example of constancy and resolution, by suffering patiently an honourable death, for the sake of our venerable and holy laws." Eleazar had no sooner ended his speech but he was dragged to execution. The officers that attended him, and who hitherto had behaved with some humanity towards him, grew furious upon what he had said, when they looked upon as the effect of pride. When the torment had made him ready to breathe his last, he vented a deep sigh, and said: "O Lord! thou who art possessed of the holy knowledge, thou seest that I, who could have delivered myself from death, do yet suffer cruel agonies in my body, and in my soul find joy in my sufferings, because I fear the Lord. Thus died this holy man; leaving, by his death, not only

the young men, but to his whole nation, a glorious example of virtue and resolution.

At this time seven brothers, with their mother, were seized; and king Antiochus would force them to eat swine's flesh contrary to their law, by causing their bodies to be scourged in a most inhuman manner. But the eldest of the brethren said to him; "What is it thou wouldst ask or have of us? We are ready to lay down our lives, rather than violate the holy laws which God gave to our forefathers." The king being exasperated at these words, ordered brazen pans and cauldrons to be heated; and, when they were red, he caused the tongue of that man who had spoke first to be cut off; had the skin torn from his head, and the extremities of his hands and feet cut off, before his mother and his brethren. After being mutilated in every part of his body, he was brought close to the fire, and fried in the pan. Whilst these variety of tortures were inflicting upon him, his brothers and their mother exhorted each other to die courageously, saying; "The Lord God will have regard to truth: he will have pity on us, and comfort us, as Moses declares in his song."

The first dying in this manner, the second was taken; and after the hair of his head, with the skin, were tore away, he was asked whether he would eat of some meats which were presented to him, otherwise, that all his limbs should be severed from his body. But he answered in the language of his country, "I will not obey any of your commands." He was then tortured in the same manner as his brother. Being ready to expire, he spoke thus to the king: "Wicked prince, you bereave us of this terrestrial life; but the king of heaven and earth, if we die for the defence of his laws, will one day raise us up to everlasting life."

They now proceeded to the third. He was commanded to put forth his tongue, which he did immediately; and afterwards stretching forth his hands with the utmost tranquillity of mind, he bravely said; "I received these limbs from heaven, but I now despise them, since I am to defend the laws of God; from the sure and steadfast hopes that he will one day restore them to me." The king and all his followers were astonished at the intrepidity of this young man, who scorned the utmost efforts of their cruelty.

The fourth was tortured in the same manner, and being ready to die, he said to the monarch; "It is for our advantage to be killed by men, because we hope that God will

“ restore us to life at the resurrection: but you, O king, never rise to life.”

The fifth, whilst they were tormenting him, said to tiochus; “ You now act according to your own will pleasure, because you are invested with absolute power, though you are but a mortal man. But do imagine that God has forsaken our nation. Stay but little, and you will see the wondrous effects of power; and in what manner he will torment yourself your race.”

The sixth came next, who, the moment before he expired said; “ Do not deceive yourself: it is true, indeed, our have drawn upon us the exquisite tortures which we suffer: but do not flatter yourself with the hopes of immortality, after having presumed to make war against himself.”

In the mean time their mother, supported by the hope that she had in God, beheld, with incredible resolution her seven sons die thus inhumanly in one day. She encouraged them by the wisest and most pathetic discourse, uniting a manly courage with the tenderness of a mother. She said to them; “ I know not in what manner you were formed in my womb; for it was not I who inspired with a soul and with life, nor formed your members; but I am sure that the Creator of the world, the fashioned man, and who gave being to all things, will one day restore you to life by his infinite mercy, in return for your having despised it here, out of the love you bear to his laws.”

There still remained her youngest son. Antiochus began to exhort him to a compliance; assuring him, with an air of authority, that he would raise him to riches and power; and rank him in the number of his favourites, if he would forsake the religion of his forefathers. But the youth being insensible to all promises, the king called his mother, and advised her to inspire the child with salutary counsels. This she promised and going up to her son, and laughing at the tyrant's cruelty she said to him in her native language; “ Son, have patience on me; on me, who bore you nine months in my womb, and who for three years fed you with milk from my breasts, and brought you up ever since. I conjure you, dear child, to look upon heaven and earth, and every thing they contain, and firmly to believe that God formed them as well as man. Fear not that cruel executioner; but be yourself worthy of your brethren, by submitting cheerfully to death.”

"to death; in order that, by the mercy of God, I may receive you, together with your brothers, in the glory which awaits us."

As she was speaking in this manner, the young child cried aloud; "What is it you expect from me? I do not obey the king's command, but the law which was given us by Moses. As to you, from whom all the calamities with which the Hebrews have been afflicted flow, you shall not escape the hand of the Almighty. Our sufferings, indeed, are owing to our sins: but, if the Lord our God, to punish us, was, for a little time, angry with us, he at last will be appeased, and be reconciled to his servants. But as for you, the most wicked, the most impious of men, do not flatter yourself with vain hopes. You shall not escape the judgment of the Creator, who is all-seeing and omnipotent. As to my brothers; after having suffered a moment the most cruel tortures, they taste eternal joys. In imitation of the example they have set me, I freely give up my body and life for the laws of my fore-fathers; and I beseech God to extend his mercy soon to our nation; to force you by wounds and tortures of every kind to confess that he is the only God; and that his anger, which is justly fallen on the Hebrews, may end by my death, and that of my brethren."

The king, now transported with fury, and unable to bear these insults, caused this last youth to be tortured more grievously than the rest. Thus he died in the same holy manner as his brethren, and with the utmost confidence in God. At last the mother also suffered death.

(a) Mattathias, before he died, sent for his five sons; and after exhorting them to fight valiantly for the law of God against their persecutors, he appointed Judas for their general, and Simon as president of the council. He afterwards died, and was interred at Modin, in the burying-place of his ancestors, all the faithful Israelites shedding floods of tears at his death.

(b) Antiochus finding that Paulus Æmilius, after having defeated Perseus and conquered Macedonia, had solemnized games in the city of Amphipolis, situated on the river Strymon, was desirous to have the same spectacle exhibited at Daphne near Antioch. He appointed the time for them, sent to all places to invite spectators, and drew together prodigious multitudes.

E 5

(a) A. M. 3838. Ant. J. C. 166. 1 Maccab. ii. 49-70. Joseph. Antiq. l. viii. c. 12. (b) Polyb. apud Athen. l. v. p. 193, &c. Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 321.

multitudes. The games were celebrated with incredible pomp, cost immense sums, and lasted several days. The part he there acted, during the whole time, answered in every respect to the character given him by Daniel (c), who calls him a *wild* or contemptible *man*; as I have said elsewhere. He there did so many mad actions before that infinite multitude of people, assembled from different parts of the earth, that he became the laughing stock of them all: and many of them were so much disgusted, that, to prevent their being spectators of a conduct so unworthy a prince, and so repugnant to the rules of modesty and decorum, they refused to go any more to the feasts to which he invited them.

(d) He had scarce ended the solemnization of these games, but Tiberius Gracchus arrived as ambassador from the Romans, in order to have an eye on Antiochus's actions. That prince gave him so polite and friendly a reception, that the ambassador not only laid aside all suspicion with regard to him, and did not perceive that he retained any resentment with respect to what had happened in Alexandria, but even blamed those who spread such reports of him. And indeed Antiochus, beside other civilities, quitted his palace to make room for Tiberius Gracchus and his train, and was even going to resign his crown to him. The ambassador ought to have been politician enough to suspect all these caresses: for it is certain that Antiochus was meditating, at that time, how he might best revenge himself of the Romans; but he disguised his sentiments, in order to gain time, and to be the better able to carry on his preparations.

(e) Whilst Antiochus was amusing himself with celebrating games at Daphne, Judas was acting a very different part in Judæa. After having levied an army, he fortified the cities, rebuilt the fortresses, threw strong garrisons into them, and thereby awed the whole country. Apollonius, who was governor of Samaria under Antiochus, thought he should be able to check his progress, and accordingly marched directly against him. However, Judas defeated him, and made a great slaughter of his troops. Seron, another commander, who had flattered himself with the hopes of revenging the affront his master had received, met with the like fate; and, as that general had been, was also defeated and killed in the battle.

When

(c) Dan. xi. 21.

(d) Polyb. Legat. ci.—civ. Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 322.

(e) 1 Maccab. iii. 1.—26. 2 Maccab. viii. 5—7. Joseph. Antig. l. xii. c. 10.

When news was brought to Antiochus of this double defeat, he was exasperated to fury. Immediately he assembled all his troops, which formed a mighty army, and determined to destroy the whole Jewish nation, and to settle other people in their country. But when his troops were to be paid, he had not sufficient sums in his coffers, having exhausted them in the foolish expences he had lately been at. For want of money he was obliged to suspend the vengeance he meditated against the Jewish nation; and all the plans he had formed for the immediate execution of that design.

(f) He had squandered immense sums on the games. Besides this, he had been extravagantly profuse in every other respect, particularly in the presents he bestowed on particular persons and whole bodies of men. He would often throw his money abundantly among his attendants and others; sometimes seasonably enough, but most frequently without sense or reason. On these occasions he verified what the prophet Daniel had foretold of him, that he should (g) *scatter among them the prey and spoil of riches*; and the author of the (h) *Maccabees* says, that he had been exceeding liberal, and had *abounded above the kings that were before him*. We are told by (i) *Athenæus*, that the circumstances which enabled him to defray so prodigious an expence were, first, the spoils he had taken in Egypt, contrary to the promise he had made Philometor in his minority; secondly, the sums he had raised among his friends, by way of free gifts; lastly, (which was the most considerable article) the plunder of a great number of temples, which he had sacrilegiously invaded.

(k) Besides the difficulties to which the want of money reduced him, others arose, according to Daniel's prophecy, *from the tidings which came to him out of the East and out of the North*. For northward, Artaxias, king of Armenia, had rebelled against him; and Persia, which lay eastward, discontinued the regular payment of the tribute. (l) There, as in every other part of his dominions, all things seemed in the utmost confusion occasioned by the new ordinance by which the ancient customs of so many of his subjects were abolished; and those of the Greeks, of which he was ridiculously fond, established in their stead. These things occasioned great confusion with respect to the payments, which, till then, had been very regular throughout that vast and rich empire, and had always

E 6

supplied

(f) Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 11. (g) Dan. xi. 44. (h) 1 Mac-
cab. iii. 30. (i) Athen. l. v. p. 195. (k) Dan. xi. 44. & 11.
104, in Hunt locum. (l) 2 Maccab. iii. 29.

supplied sums sufficient to defray the great expences it was necessary to be at.

(m) To remedy these grievances, as well as a multi-
of others, he resolved to divide his forces into two parts
to give the command of one of his armies to Lyfias, descended
from the blood-royal, in order that he might subdue the Jews
and to march the other into Armenia, and afterwards
Persia, to reinstate the affairs of those provinces in their
former flourishing condition. He accordingly left Lyfias
governor of all the countries on this side the Euphrates;
the care of his son's education, who afterwards was called
* *Antiochus Eupator*. After passing mount Taurus, he entered
Armenia, beat Artaxias, and took him prisoner. He marched
from thence into Persia, where he supposed he should find
no other trouble, but to receive the tribute of that rich
province, and those in its neighbourhood. He fondly flattered
himself, that he should there find sums sufficient to
his coffers, and reinstate all his affairs upon as good a
footing as ever.

Whilst he was forming all these projects, Lyfias was
considering how he might best put in execution the orders he
left him, especially those which related to the Jews.
The king had commanded him to extirpate them, so as not to
leave one Hebrew in the country; which he intended to
perform with other inhabitants, and to distribute the lands
among them by lot. He thought it necessary for him to make
more dispatch in this expedition, because advice was
brought him, that the arms of Judas made prodigious
progress and increased in strength by taking all the fortresses which
approached.

Philip, whom Antiochus had left governor of Judæa, seeing
Judas's success, had sent expresses, with advice of this
Ptolemy Macron, governor of Cœlofryia and Palestine
which Judæa depended; and had pressed him, by letters
to employ such measures as might best support the interest
of their common sovereign in this important conjuncture.
Macron had communicated his advices and letters to Lyfias.
A resolution was therefore immediately taken, to send
an army, of which Ptolemy Macron was appointed generalissimo
into Judæa. He appointed Nicanor, his intimate friend
lieutenant-general; sent him before, at the head of 20

(m) 1 Maccab. iii. 31—60. & iv. 1—25. 2 Maccab. viii. 8.
Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 11. Appian. in Syr. p. 117. Hieron. in
xi. 44.

* He was then but seven years old.

men, with Gorgias, a veteran officer of consummate experience, to assist him. Accordingly they entered the country, and were soon followed by Ptolemy, with the rest of the forces intended for that expedition. The armies, when joined, came and encamped at Emmaus, near Jerusalem. It consisted of 40,000 foot and 7000 horse.

Thither also repaired an army of another kind. It consisted of merchants that came to purchase the slaves, who, it was supposed, would certainly be taken in that war. Nicenor, who had flattered himself with the hopes of levying large sums of money by this means, sufficient to pay * the 2000 talents which the king still owed the Romans, on account of the ancient treaty of Sipylus, published a proclamation in the neighbouring countries, declaring, that all the prisoners taken in that war should be sold, at the rate of ninety for a talent †. A resolution indeed had been taken, to cut to pieces all the men grown; to reduce all the rest to a state of captivity; and 180,000 of the latter, at the price abovementioned, would have sold exactly for the sum in question. The merchants, therefore, finding this would be a very profitable article to them (as it was a very low price) flocked thither in crowds, and brought considerable sums with them. We are told that a thousand, all of them very considerable merchants, arrived in the Syrian camp on this occasion, without including their domesticks and the persons they should want to look after the captives they intended to purchase.

Judas and his brethren perceiving the danger with which they were threatened, by the approach of so powerful an army, which, they knew, had been commanded to extirpate entirely the Jewish nation, resolved to make a very vigorous defence; to fight for themselves, their law, and their liberty; and, either to conquer, or die sword in hand. Accordingly they divided the 6000 men under their command into four bodies of fifteen hundred men each. Judas put himself at the head of the first, and gave the command of the three others to his brethren. He afterwards marched them to Maspha, there to offer together their prayers to God, and to implore his assistance in the extreme danger to which they were reduced. He made choice of this place, because, as Jerusalem was in the hands of their enemies, and the sanctuary trampled upon, they could not assemble in it to solemnize that religious act; and Maspha seemed the fittest place for that purpose, because God was worshipped there before the foundation of the temple.

(A) Hero

* About 300,000*l.* sterling.

† A thousand crowns.

(*n*) Here are now two armies ready to engage, the numbers on each side very unequal, and the disposition of their minds still more so. (*o*) They agree, however, in one point, that is, both are firmly persuaded they shall gain the victory; the one, because they have a mighty army of well disciplined troops, commanded by brave and experienced generals; the other, because they put their whole trust in the God of armies.

After proclamation had been made according to the (*p*) law, that those who had built a house that year, or married a wife, or planted a vine, or were afraid, had liberty to retire; Judas's six thousand men were reduced to half that number. Nevertheless this valiant captain of the people of God, resolutely determined to fight the mighty host of the enemy with only this handful of men, and to leave the issue to Providence, advanced with his few forces, encamped very near the enemy, and told his soldiers, after having animated them by all the motives which the present conjuncture supplied, that he intended to give the Syrians battle on the morrow, and therefore that they must prepare for it.

But receiving advice that same evening, that Gorgias had been detached from the enemy's camp with five thousand foot and a thousand horse, all chosen troops; and that he was marching a by-way, through which the apostate Jews led him, in order to come and surprize his camp in the night; he was not satisfied with frustrating that design, but even made use of the very stratagem which the enemy intended to employ against him, and was successful in it. For, raising his camp immediately, and carrying off all the baggage, he marched and attacked the enemy's camp, weakened by the best troops having been detached from it; and spread such terror and confusion into every part of it, that after three thousand Syrians had been cut to pieces, the rest fled, and left him the whole plunder of their camp.

As Gorgias was still at the head of his formidable detachment, Judas, like a wise captain, kept his troops together, and would not suffer them to straggle about after plunder, or in pursuit of the enemy, till they should have defeated that body also. He was successful without coming to a battle; for Gorgias, after failing to meet with Judas in his camp, and having fought for him in vain in the mountains whither he supposed he had retired, withdrew at last into his camp; and finding it in a blaze, and his soldiers straggling and flying away, it was impossible for him to keep them in order; so that

(*n*) Judges xx. 1.

(*o*) 1 Reg. vii. 5.

(*p*) Deut. xx. 5, &c.

that these threw down their arms and fled also. Then Judas, and the men under his command, pursued them vigorously, and cut to pieces a greater number on this occasion, than they had before done in the camp. 9000 Syrians were left dead in the field, and the greatest part of those who fled were either maimed or wounded.

After this, Judas marched back his soldiers, in order to plunder the camp, where they met with immense booty; and great numbers who were come, as to a fair, to buy the captive Jews, were themselves taken prisoners and sold. The next day, being the sabbath, was solemnized in the most religious manner. The Hebrews, on that occasion, gave themselves up to an holy joy; and unanimously returned thanks to the Creator, for the great and signal deliverance he had wrought in their favour.

We have here a sensible image of the feeble opposition which the human arm is able to make against that of the Almighty, on whom only the fate of battles depends. It is evident that Judas was fully sensible of his own weakness. *How can we,* says he to the Almighty before the battle, *stand before them, unless thou thyself assistest us?* And it is as evident that he was no less firmly persuaded of the success of his arms. *The victory* (he had said above) *does not depend on the number of soldiers, but it is from heaven that all our strength comes.* But although Judas had so entire a confidence in God, he employs all those expedients which the most experienced and bravest general could use, in order to obtain the victory. How excellent a pattern have we here for generals! To pray with humility, because all things depend on God; and to act with vigour, as if all things depended on man.——We are still possessed (thanks to the Almighty) of generals who believe it glorious to entertain such thoughts; and who, at the head of great armies, composed of as brave soldiers as ever were, as well as of officers and commanders of an almost unparalleled courage and zeal, do not rely on all those human advantages, but solely on the protection of the God of armies.

(9) Judas, encouraged by the important victory he had gained, and reinforced by a great number of troops whom this success brought to him, employed the advantage which this gave him to distress the rest of his enemies. Knowing that Timotheus and Bacchides, two of Antiochus's lieutenants, were raising troops to fight him, he marched against them,

them, defeated them in a great battle, and killed upw 20,000 of their men.

(r) Lyfias hearing of the ill success which Antiaras had met with in Judaa, and the great losses I sustained in that country, was in great astonishment & plexity. However, knowing that the king had a strong to extirpate that nation, he made mighty preparations new expedition against the Jews. Accordingly he lev army of 60,000 foot and 5000 horse, all chosen troop putting himself at their head, he marched into Judaa, resolved to lay waste the whole country, and to destroy inhabitants.

He encamped at Bethsura, a city standing to the so Jerusalem, towards the frontier of Idumaea. Judas ad towards him at the head of ten thousand men; and, ful fueled that the Lord would assist him, he engaged the with his inconsiderable body of troops, killed five th of them, and put the rest to flight. Lyfias, dismayed surprizing valour of Judas's soldiers, who fought with i courage, determined to conquer or die, led back his con army to Antioch; intending, nevertheless, to come a tack them again the next year with a still more powerfu of forces.

(2) Judas, being left master of the field by the ret Lyfias, took advantage of this opportunity, and marc Jerusalem, where he recovered the sanctuary from th thens, purified and dedicated it again to the service o 'This solemn dedication continued a week, all which wa in thanksgiving for the delivery that God had voue them; and it was ordained, that the anniversary of it be solemnized every year. The neighbouring nation lous of the prosperity of the Jews, made a league to them; and resolved to join Antiochus, in order to ex that people.

(3) This prince was then in Persia, levying the which had not been paid regularly. He was informe Elymais was thought to abound with riches; and esp that in a temple of that city, which Polybius says was cated to Diana, and to Venus, according to Appian, gious sums were laid up. He went thither, with a de

(r) A. M. 3839. Ant. J. C. 165. 1 Maccab. iv. 26—35. Antiq. l. xii. c. 11. (2) 1 Maccab. iv. 36—61. & v. Maccab. x. 1—8. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 11. (3) A. M. Ant. J. C. 166. 1 Maccab. vi. 1—16. 2 Maccab. ix. 1—29. 1 Excerpt. Vales. p. 145. Appian. in Syr. p. 131.

take the city and plunder the temple, as he had before done Jerusalem. But his design having taken vent, the country people and the inhabitants of the city took up arms to defend their temple, and gave him a shameful repulse. Antiochus, thunder-struck at this disgrace, withdrew to Ecbatana.

To add to his affliction, news was there brought him of the defeat of Nicanor and Timotheus in Judæa. In the violence of his rage, he set out with all possible expedition, in order to make that nation feel the dreadful effects of his wrath; venting nothing but menaces on his march; and breathing only final ruin and destruction. Advancing in this disposition towards Babylonia, which was in his way, fresh expresses came to him with advice of Lysias's defeat, and also that the Jews had retaken the temple, thrown down the altars and idols which he had set up in them, and re-established their ancient worship. At this news his fury increased. Immediately he commands his coachmen to drive with the utmost speed, in order that he might have an opportunity to satiate fully his vengeance; threatening to make Jerusalem the burying-place of the whole Jewish nation, and not to leave one single inhabitant in it. He had scarce uttered that blasphemous expression, but he was struck by the hand of God. He was seized with incredible pains in his bowels, and the most excessive pangs of the colick. *Thus the murderer and blasphemer, says the author of the Maccabees, having suffered most grievously, as he treated other men, so died he a miserable death, in a strange country in the mountain.*

But still his pride was not abated by this first shock: so far from it, that suffering himself to be hurried away by the wild transports of his fury, and breathing nothing but vengeance against the Jews, he gave orders for proceeding with all possible speed in the journey. But as his horses were running forwards impetuously he fell from his chariot, and thereby bruised, in a grievous manner, every part of his body; so that his attendants were forced to put him into a litter, where he suffered inexpressible torments. Worms crawled from every part of him; his flesh fell away piece-meal, and the stench was so great, that it became intolerable to the whole army. Being himself unable to bear it, (u) *It is meet, says he, to be subject unto God; and man who is mortal, should not think of himself as if he were a god.* Acknowledging that it was the hand of the Lord of Israel which struck him, because of the calamities he had brought upon Jerusalem, he

(u) 2 Maccab. ix. 12.

them, defeated them in a great battle, and killed upwards of 20,000 of their men.

(r) Lysias hearing of the ill success which Antiochus's arms had met with in Judæa, and the great losses he had sustained in that country, was in great astonishment and perplexity. However, knowing that the king had a strong desire to extirpate that nation, he made mighty preparations for a new expedition against the Jews. Accordingly he levied an army of 60,000 foot and 5000 horse, all chosen troops; and putting himself at their head, he marched into Judæa, firmly resolved to lay waste the whole country, and to destroy all the inhabitants.

He encamped at Bethsura, a city standing to the south of Jerusalem, towards the frontiers of Idumæa. Judas advanced towards him at the head of ten thousand men; and, fully persuaded that the Lord would assist him, he engaged the enemy with his inconsiderable body of troops, killed five thousand of them, and put the rest to flight. Lysias, dismayed at the surprizing valour of Judas's soldiers, who fought with intrepid courage, determined to conquer or die, led back his conquered army to Antioch; intending, nevertheless, to come and attack them again the next year with a still more powerful body of forces.

(s) Judas, being left master of the field by the retreat of Lysias, took advantage of this opportunity, and marched to Jerusalem, where he recovered the sanctuary from the heathens, purified and dedicated it again to the service of God. This solemn dedication continued a week, all which was spent in thanksgiving for the delivery that God had vouchsafed them; and it was ordained, that the anniversary of it should be solemnized every year. The neighbouring nations, jealous of the prosperity of the Jews, made a league to destroy them; and resolved to join Antiochus, in order to extirpate that people.

(t) This prince was then in Persia, levying the tribute which had not been paid regularly. He was informed, that Elymais was thought to abound with riches; and especially, that in a temple of that city, which Polybius says was dedicated to Diana, and to Venus, according to Appian, prodigious sums were laid up. He went thither, with a design to take

(r) A. M. 3839. Ant. J. C. 165. 1 Maccab. iv. 26—35. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 11. (s) 1 Maccab. iv. 36—61. & v. 1, 2. 1 Maccab. x. 1—8. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 11. (t) A. M. 3840. Ant. J. C. 164. 1 Maccab. vi. 1—16. 2 Maccab. ix. 1—29. Polyb. in Excerpt. Valef. p. 145. Appian, in Syr. p. 131.

take the city and plunder the temple, as he had before done Jerusalem. But his design having taken vent, the country people and the inhabitants of the city took up arms to defend their temple, and gave him a shameful repulse. Antiochus, thunder-struck at this disgrace, withdrew to Ecbatana.

To add to his affliction, news was there brought him of the defeat of Nicanor and Timotheus in Judæa. In the violence of his rage, he set out with all possible expedition, in order to make that nation feel the dreadful effects of his wrath; venting nothing but menaces on his march; and breathing only final ruin and destruction. Advancing in this disposition towards Babylonia, which was in his way, fresh expresses came to him with advice of Lyſias's defeat, and also that the Jews had retaken the temple, thrown down the altars and idols which he had set up in them, and re-established their ancient worship. At this news his fury increased. Immediately he commands his coachmen to drive with the utmost speed, in order that he might have an opportunity to satiate fully his vengeance; threatening to make Jerusalem the burying-place of the whole Jewish nation, and not to leave one single inhabitant in it. He had scarce uttered that blasphemous expression, but he was struck by the hand of God. He was seized with incredible pains in his bowels, and the most excessive pangs of the colick. *Thus the murderer and blasphemer, says the author of the Maccabees, having suffered most grievously, as he treated other men, so died he a miserable death, in a strange country in the mountain.*

But still his pride was not abated by this first shock: so far from it, that suffering himself to be hurried away by the wild transports of his fury, and breathing nothing but vengeance against the Jews, he gave orders for proceeding with all possible speed in the journey. But as his horses were running forwards impetuously he fell from his chariot, and thereby bruised, in a grievous manner, every part of his body; so that his attendants were forced to put him into a litter, where he suffered inexpressible torments. Worms crawled from every part of him; his flesh fell away piece-meal, and the stench was so great, that it became intolerable to the whole army. Being himself unable to bear it, (u) *It is meet, says he, to be subject unto God; and man who is mortal, should not think of himself as if he were a god.* Acknowledging that it was the hand of the Lord of Israel which struck him, because of the calamities he had brought upon Jerusalem, he

(u) 2 Maccab. ix. 12.

he promises to exert his utmost liberality towards his chosen people; to enrich with precious gifts the holy temple of Jerusalem which he had plundered; to furnish, from his revenues, the sums necessary for defraying the expence of the sacrifices; to turn Jew himself; and to travel into every part of the world, in order to publish the power of the Almighty. He hoped he should calm his wrath by these mighty promises, which the violence of his present affliction, and the fear of future torments, extorted from his mouth, but not from his heart. But, adds the author in question, (x) *This wicked person vowed unto the Lord, who now no more would have mercy upon him.* And indeed this murderer and blasphemer (these are the names which the writer of the Maccabees substituted in the place of *illustrious*, which men had bestowed on that prince) being struck in a dreadful manner, and treated as he treated others, finished an impious life by a miserable death *.

Before he expired, he sent to Philip, who had been brought up with him from his infancy; was his favourite, and had bestowed on him the regency of Syria during the minority of his son, then nine years of age. He had put into his hands the diadem, the seal of the empire, and all the other ensigns of royalty; exhorting him, especially, to employ his utmost endeavours to give him such an education as would best teach him the art of reigning, and how to govern his subjects with justice and moderation. Few princes give such instructions to their children till they are near their end; and that, after having set them a quite different example during their whole lives. Philip caused the king's body to be conveyed to Antioch. This prince had sat eleven years on the throne.

SECT. IV. *Prophecies of DANIEL relating to ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES.*

AS Antiochus Epiphanes was a violent persecutor of the people of God, who formed the Jewish church; and was, at the same time, the type of the Antichrist, who, in after ages, was to afflict the Christian church; the prophecies of Daniel expatiate much more on this prince than on any other mentioned in them. This prophecy consists of two parts, one

(x) 2 Maccab. c. xiii.

* Polybius attests the truth of this, and relates that Antiochus was troubled with a perpetual delirium; imagining that spectres stood perpetually before him, reproaching him with his crimes. This historian, who was unacquainted with the scriptures, assigns as the cause of this punishment, the sacrilegious attempt formed by this prince against the temple of Diana in Elymais. Polyb. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 145.

one of which relates to his wars in Egypt, and the other to the persecution carried on by him against the Jews. We shall treat these separately, and unite together the various places where mention is made of them.

I. THE WARS OF ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES AGAINST EGYPT, FORETOLD BY DANIEL THE PROPHET.

(γ) *And in his (Seleucus Philopator's) estate shall stand up a vile person, to whom they shall not give the honour of the kingdom: but he shall come in peaceably, and obtain the kingdom by flatteries.* This verse, which points out the accession of Antiochus to the crown, has been already explained.

(ζ) *And with the arms of a flood shall they (the Syrians) be overflown before him (Antiochus Epiphanes) and shall be broken; yea, the prince of the covenant.* Heliodorus, the murderer of Seleucus and his adherents, as also those of the Egyptian king, who had formed designs against Syria, were defeated by the forces of Attalus and Eumenes, and dispersed by the arrival of Antiochus, whose presence disconcerted all their projects. By the *prince of the covenant*, we may suppose to be meant, either Heliodorus, the ring-leader of the conspirators, who had killed Seleucus; or rather Ptolemy Epiphanes, king of Egypt, who lost his life by a conspiracy of his own subjects, when he was meditating a war against Syria. Thus Providence removed this powerful adversary, to make way for Antiochus, and raise him to the throne.

It appears that the prophet, in the following verses, points out clearly enough the four different expeditions of Antiochus into Egypt.

ANTIOCHUS'S FIRST EXPEDITION INTO EGYPT.

(α) *And after the league made with him (with Ptolemy Philometor his nephew, king of Egypt) he shall work deceitfully; for he shall come up, and shall become strong with a small people.* Antiochus, though he was already determined on the war; he yet shall assume a specious appearance of friendship for the king of Egypt. He even sent Apollonius to Memphis, to be present at the banquet given on occasion of that prince's coronation, as a proof that it was agreeable to him. Nevertheless, soon after, on pretence of defending his nephew, he marched into Egypt with a *small army*, in comparison of those which he levied afterwards. The battle was fought near Pelusium. Antiochus was *strongest*, that is, victorious, and after-

(γ) Dan. xi. 21,

(ζ) Ver. 23.

(α) Dan. xi. 23.

afterwards returned to Tyre. Such was the end of his first expedition.

ANTIOCHUS'S second EXPEDITION into EGYPT.

(b) *He shall enter peaceably upon the fattest places of the province (Egypt;) and he shall do that which his fathers have not done, nor his fathers fathers; he shall scatter among them (his troops) the prey and spoil and riches; yea, and he shall forecast his devices against the strong holds, even for a time.*

(c) *And he shall stir up his power and his courage against the king of the South (of Egypt) with a great army, and the king of the South shall be stirred up to battle with a very great and mighty army, but he shall not stand; for they shall forecast devices against him.*

(d) *Yea, they that feed of the portion of his (the king of Egypt's) meat, shall destroy him, and his army shall overflow, and many shall fall down slain.*

In these three verses appear the principal characters of Antiochus's second expedition into Egypt; his mighty armies, his rapid conquests, the rich spoils he carried from thence, and the dissimulation and treachery he began to practise with regard to Ptolemy.

Antiochus, after employing the whole winter in making preparations for a second expedition into Egypt, invaded it both by sea and land, the instant the season would permit. (e) *Wherefore he entered into Egypt with a great multitude, with chariots, and elephants, and horsemen, and a great navy.——And made war against Ptolemy king of Egypt: But Ptolemy was afraid of him and fled; and many were wounded to death.——Thus they got the strong cities in the land of Egypt, and he took the spoils thereof.*

Daniel, some verses after, is more minute in his prophecy of this event.

(f) *And at the time of the end shall the king of the South push at him (Ptolemy is here hinted at;) and the king of the North (Antiochus) shall come against him like a whirlwind, with chariots, and with horsemen, and with many ships, and he shall enter into the countries, and shall overflow and pass over.*

(g) *He shall enter also into the glorious land, and many countries shall be overthrown: but these shall escape out of his hand,*

(b) Dan. xi. ver. 24. (c) Dan. xi. 25. (d) Ver. 26. (e) 1 Mac. i. 17, 18, 19. (f) Dan. xi. 40. (g) Ver. 41.

band, even Edom and Moab, and the chief of the children of Ammon.

(b) *He shall stretch forth his hand also upon the countries, and the land of Egypt shall not escape.*

(i) *But he shall have power over the treasures of gold and silver, and over the precious things of Egypt, &c.*

If we compare the relation given by the author of the Maccabees with Daniel's prophecy, we find a perfect resemblance, except that the prophet is more clear and particular than the historian.

(k) Diodorus relates, that Antiochus, after this victory, conquered all Egypt, or at least the greatest part of it: for all the cities, Alexandria excepted, opened their gates to the conqueror. He subdued Egypt with an astonishing rapidity, and did that (l) *which his forefathers had not done, nor his fathers fathers.*

Ptolemy either surrendered himself, or fell into the hands of Antiochus, who at first treated him with kindness; had but one table with him, seemed to be greatly concerned for his welfare, and left him the peaceable possession of his kingdom, reserving to himself Pelusium, which was the key of it. For Antiochus assumed this appearance of friendship with no other view but to have the better opportunity of ruining him. (m) *They that feed of the portion of his meat shall destroy him.*

Antiochus did not make a long stay in Egypt at that time; the news which was brought of the general revolt of the Jews, obliging him to march against them.

In the mean time, the inhabitants of Alexandria, offended at Philometor for having concluded an alliance with Antiochus, raised Evergetes his younger brother to the throne in his stead.

Antiochus, who had advice of what had passed in Alexandria, took this opportunity to return into Egypt, upon pretext of restoring the dethroned monarch, but, in reality, to make himself absolute master of the kingdom.

ANTIOCHUS'S third EXPEDITION into EGYPT.

(n) *And both these kings hearts shall be to do mischief; and they shall speak lyes at one table; but it shall not prosper; for yet the end shall be at the time appointed.*

(o) *Then*

(b) Dan. xi. 42.

(i) Ver. 43.

(k) In Excerpt.

Valef. p. 310.

(l) Dan. xi. 24.

(m) Ver. 26.

(n) Vg. 27.

(o) *Then shall he (Antiochus) return into his land with great riches.*

Antiochus's third expedition could scarce be pointed out more clearly. That prince, hearing that the Alexandrians had raised Evergetes to the throne, returned to Egypt upon the specious pretence of restoring Philometor: (p) *Per bonum specimen majoris Ptolemæi reducendi in regnum.* After having overcome the Alexandrians, in a sea fight at Pelusium, he laid siege to Alexandria. But finding the inhabitants made strong opposition, he was contented with making himself master of Egypt again in the name of his nephew, in whose defence he pretended to have drawn the sword: (q) *Cui regnum quæri suis viribus simulabat.* They were then at Memphis, eat at the same table, and behaved towards one another with all the outward marks of a sincere friendship. The uncle seemed to have his nephew's interest at heart, and the nephew to repose the highest confidence in his uncle; but all this was mere show and outside, both dissembling their real sentiments. The uncle endeavoured to crush his nephew: (r) *Cui regnum quæri suis viribus simulabat, ut non victoriam aggrediretur;* and the nephew, who saw through his design, *voluntatis ejus non ignarus,* strove immediately to be reconciled to his brother. Thus neither succeeded in deceiving the other: Nothing was yet determined, and Antiochus returned into Syria.

ANTIOCHUS's fourth EXPEDITION into EGYPT.

(s) *At the time appointed he shall return, and come toward the South, but it shall not be as the former, or as the latter.*

(t) *For the ships of Chittim shall come against him: Therefore he shall be grieved and return, and have indignation against the holy covenant.*

Advice being brought Antiochus, that the two brothers were reconciled, he threw off the mask, and declared publicly, that he intended to conquer Egypt for himself. And, to support his pretensions, he returned towards the South, that is, into Egypt, but was not so successful in this expedition as before. (u) As he was advancing forward to besiege Alexandria, Popilius, and the other Roman ambassadors, who were on board a fleet composed of Macedonian or Greek ships (for

(o) Dan. xi. ver. 28.
1. xiv. n. 11. Hieron. in Daniel.
xi. 29.

(t) Ibid. 30.

(p) Liv. l. xliv. n. 19.

(r) Liv. ibid.

(u) Liv. l. xlv. n. 10.

(q) Liv.

(s) Dan.

or this the Hebrew word Chittim signifies) which they found Delos, obliged him to lay down his arms, and leave Egypt. He obeyed, but with the utmost reluctance, and made the city and temple of Jerusalem feel the dire effects of his indignation, as will be presently seen.

Had the prophet been eye-witness to this event, would it have been possible for him to point it out in a clearer and more exact manner?

CRUEL PERSECUTIONS EXERCISED BY ANTIOCHUS AGAINST THE JEWS, AND FORETOLD BY THE PROPHET DANIEL.

I have mentioned and explained, in another place, the account which Daniel the prophet gives of Alexander the Great's reign, and those of his four successors.

(x) *Behold an he-goat came from the West, on the face of the whole earth, and touched not the ground.*——Could it have been possible to denote more plainly the rapidity of Alexander's conquests? (y) *The he-goat waxed very great, and when he was strong, the great horn was broken; and for it came up four notable ones towards the four winds of heaven.* These are Alexander's four successors. (z) *And out of one of them came forth a little horn, which waxed exceeding great, toward the South, and toward the East, and toward the pleasant land.* This is Antiochus Epiphanes, who gained several victories towards the South and the East, and who strongly opposed the army of the Lord and the Jewish people, of whom God was the strength and the protector.

The prophet afterwards points out the war which Epiphanes proclaimed against the people of God, the priests of the Lord, his laws and his temple.

(a) *And it waxed great (the horn) even to the host of heaven, and it cast down some of the host, and of the stars to the ground, and stamped upon them.*——(b) *Yea, he magnified himself even to the prince of the host (to God;) and by him the daily sacrifice was taken away, and the place of his sanctuary was cast down.*——(c) *And an host was given him against the daily sacrifice by reason of transgression, and it cast down the truth to the ground, and it practised and prospered.*

Daniel gives still greater extent to the same prophecy in his eleventh chapter.

(d) *His*

(x) Dan. viii. 5.

(y) Ver. 8.

(z) Ver. 9.

(a) Ver.

10.

(b) Ver. 11.

(c) Ver. 11.

(d) *His heart shall be against the holy covenant; and he shall do exploits.—He shall return, and have indignation against the holy covenant.*

(e) During the siege of Alexandria, a report had prevailed that Antiochus was dead, and the Jews had been accused of expressing great joy at it. He thereupon marched to the city, stormed it, and exercised all the barbarity that his fury could suggest. About forty * thousand men were killed, and the same number sold as slaves, in the compass of three days. Antiochus went into the temple, polluted it, and carried off all the vessels, treasures, and ornaments.

(f) After Popilius had forced him to leave Egypt, he turned the fury he conceived upon that occasion against the Jews. He sent Apollonius into Judæa, with orders to kill all the men capable of bearing arms, and to sell the women and children. Accordingly, Apollonius made dreadful havoc in Jerusalem, set fire to the city, beat down the walls, and carried the women and children into captivity.

(g) *He shall return, and have intelligence with them that forsake the holy covenant.—And arms shall stand on his part, and they shall pollute the sanctuary of strength, and shall take away the daily sacrifice, and they shall place the abomination that maketh desolate.—And such as do wickedly against the covenant, shall be corrupt by flatteries, &c.*

(h) Antiochus declared openly for all those who should renounce the law. Having published an ordinance, by which all the Jews in general were commanded, upon pain of death, to change their religion, he sent some officers to Jerusalem, ordering them to pollute the temple, and abolish the worship of the Most High. They accordingly dedicated this temple to Jupiter Olympius, and placed his statue in it. They raised in every part of the city profane temples and altars, where they forced the Jews to offer sacrifices, and eat of meats sacrificed to idols. Many, from the dread of the torture, seemed to comply in all things required from them; and even prompted others to countenance their base apostasy.

(i) *And such as do wickedly against the covenant shall Antiochus corrupt by flatteries; but the people that do know their God,*

(d) Dan. xi. 28, 30.

Joseph. Lib. de Maccab. &c.

24—26.

(g) Dan. xi. 30, 31, 32.

2 Maccab. iv. 7, &c. vii. 1, &c.

(e) 1 Maccab. i. 21—24. & ii. 5—21.

(f) 1 Maccab. i. 30—34. & ii.

(b) 1 Maccab. i. 43, &c.

(i) Dan. xi. 32.

* We are told in the Maccabees, that it was twice this number.

shall be strong and do exploits. This manifestly points at leazar, the seven Maccabees and their mother, and a number of other Jews, who courageously opposed the us orders of the king.

And they that understand among the people, shall instruct: yet they shall fall by the sword, and by flame, by captivity and by spoil many days. This relates chiefly to Matta- and his sons.

Now when they shall fall, they shall be holpen with a help: but many shall cleave to them with flatteries. Matta- and Judas Maccabeus supported the distressed nation, he almost-universally abandoned religion, with so small a per of forces, that we can consider the success which the ghty gave their arms no otherwise than as a miracle. troops grew more numerous by degrees, and afterwards ed a very considerable body.

And some of them of understanding shall fall, to try them, o purge, and to make them white, even to the time of the because it is yet for a time appointed. The sufferings and of those who steadfastly refused to obey the king's decree, their glory and triumph.

And the king shall do according to his will, and he shall himself, and magnify himself above every god, and shall marvellous things against the God of gods, and shall prosper be indignation be accomplished: for that that is determined, be done.

Neither shall he regard the God of his fathers, nor the de- f women, nor regard any god: for he shall magnify himself e all.

iphanes ridiculed all religions. He plundered the tem- of Greece, and wanted to rob that of Elymais. He ex- ed his impious fury chiefly against Jerusalem and the , and almost without any resistance. The Almighty seemed ink for a time at all the abominations which were com- ed in his temple, till his wrath against his people was fied.

But tidings out of the East, and out of the North, shall le him: therefore he shall go forth with great fury to destroy, utterly to make away many.

ntiochus was troubled when news was brought him, that provinces of the East, and Artaxias king of Armenia to North, were in arms, and going to throw off his yoke.

OL. VII.

F

Tacitus

) Dan. xi. 33.

(l) Ver. 34.

(m) Ver. 35.

(a) Ver.

(o) Ver. 37.

(p) Ver. 44.

Tacitus * tells us, that when Antiochus had formed a resolution to force the Jews to change their religion, and to brace that of the Greeks, the Parthians revolted against Antiochus. (q) Before he set out for the provinces of the other side of the Euphrates, he gave Lysias, whom he appointed regent of the kingdom in his absence, half his army commanding him to extirpate all the Jews, and to settle colonies in their country.

(r) *He shall plant the tabernacles of his palace* [* in Apadna between the fons in the glorious holy mountain [of Zabi]; yet shall come to his end, and none shall help him. This verse which is translated literally from the Hebrew, is very difficult to be explained, because of the two words *Apadna* and *Zabi* which are not to be found in the ancient geography. The reader knows that I do not take upon me to clear up these kinds of difficulties. Porphyry, whom we have no reason to suspect, imagined that this verse alluded to Antiochus's expedition beyond the Euphrates, and to his death, which happened on that march. This is the opinion of the greater part of the interpreters, and therefore we ought to be satisfied with it.

The prophet therefore declares that Antiochus shall pitch his camp near mount *Zabi* (doubtless the same with *Taba* †, where according to (s) Polybius, he died) and that there he shall come to his end, being abandoned by God, and having none to help him. We have seen how he expired, in the most cruel agonies, and struck with an unavailing repentance which only increased his torments.

Theodoret, St. Jerom, and several interpreters, take it that the prophet Daniel speaks concerning Antiochus Epiphanes in another sense, as alluding to Antichrist. It is certain that this prince, who was equally impious and cruel, is one of the most sensible, as well as most expressive, types of that enemy of Christ Jesus and our holy religion.

It is impossible for us, whilst we are reading this prophet, not to be prodigiously struck to see the justness and a
camp

(q) 1 Maccab. iii. 31—39.
Excerpt. Valef. p. 145.

(r) Dan. xi. 45.

(s) Polyb.

* Antiochus demere superstitionem & mores Græcorum dare adnexus, quominus teterrimam gentem in melius mutaret, Parthorum bello prohibitus est: nam ea tempestate Arsaces defecerat. Tacit. v. c. 8.

* N. B. The words *between the fons* in this verse are not in the English translation of the Bible.

† *Taba*, according to Polybius, was in Persia; and in Ptolemy's Geography, according to Quintus Curtius.

cy with which the prophet traces the principal characters of a king, whose history is so much blended with that of the Jews; and we perceive evidently, that for this reason the Holy Spirit, either entirely omitting, or taking only a silent notice of the actions of other much more famous persons, dwells so long on that of Antiochus Epiphanes.

With what certainty does Daniel foretell a multitude of events, so very remote, and which depend on so many arbitrary circumstances! How manifestly did the Spirit, which foretold futurity to his view, shew it him as present, and in a clear light, as if he had seen it with his bodily eyes! Not the divine authority of the scriptures, and, by a necessary consequence, the certainty of the Christian religion, become, by such proofs, in a manner palpable and evident?

This prophecy was ever fulfilled in so clear, so perfect, and so disputable a manner as this. Porphyry*, the professed enemy of the Christian religion, as well as of the Old and New Testament, being infinitely perplexed in finding so great conformity between the events foretold by Daniel, and the events given by the best historians, did not pretend to deny the conformity, for that would have been repugnant to sense, denying the shining of the sun at noon-day. However, he took another course, in order to undermine the authority of the scriptures. He himself laboured, by citing all the historians extant at that time, and which are since lost, to shew, in a very extensive manner, that whatever is written in the seventh chapter of Daniel, happened exactly as foretold in that prophet; and he concluded from this perfect uniformity, that so exact a detail of so great a number of events could not possibly have been written by Daniel so many years before they happened; and that this work must certainly have been written by some person who lived after Antiochus Epiphanes, and borrowed Daniel's name.

In this contest between the Christians and Heathens, the Christians would indisputably carry their cause, could they be enabled to demonstrate, by good proofs, that Daniel's prophecies were really written by him. Now this they proved unanswerably, by the testimony of a whole people, I mean the Jews; whose evidence could not be suspected or disallowed, as they were still greater enemies to the Christian religion than the Heathens themselves. The reverence they had for the sacred scriptures, of which Providence had appointed them the

F 2

- depo.

Porphyry was a learned heathen, a very voluminous treatise against the Christian religion. A. D. 233. and wrote

312 A

depositaries and guardians, was so prodigious, that would have thought him a criminal and sacrilegious wretch, who should have attempted only to transcribe a single word, or change one letter in it; what idea would they have entertained of that man who should pretend to introduce any supposititious books in the temple? Such are the witnesses who attested the reality of David's prophecies. And were ever proofs so convincing, or a cause so victorious? *(1) Thy testimonies are very sure—O LORD, for ever.*

(1) Psal. xciii. v.



BOOK I

THE
H I S T O R Y
OF

Alexander's Successors,

CONTINUED.

THIS nineteenth book contains three articles. In the first the history of Perseus, the last king of Macedonia, is related; he reigned eleven years, and was dethroned in the year of the world 3836. The second article goes on from the defeat of Perseus to the ruin of Corinth, which was taken and burnt in the year of the world 3858, and includes something more than one and twenty years. The third article contains the history of Syria and that of Egypt, which are generally joined together. That of Syria continued almost an hundred years from Antiochus Eupator, son of Antiochus Epiphanes, to Antiochus Asiaticus, under whom Syria became a province of the Roman Empire; that is to say, from the year of the world 3840 to 3939. The history of Egypt includes also one hundred years from the twentieth year of Ptolemæus Philometor; the expulsion of Ptolemæus Auletes, that is from the year of the world 3845, to the year 3946.

ARTICLE I.

THIS article contains eleven years, being the whole reign of Perseus, the last king of Macedonia, from the year of the world 3826, to 3837.

SECT. I. *PERSEUS prepares secretly for a war against the Romans. He endeavours a reconciliation with the Achæans in vain. His secret measures not unknown at Rome. EUMENES arrives there, and informs the senate of them. PERSEUS attempts to rid himself of that prince, first by assassination, and afterwards by poison. The Romans break with PERSEUS. Different opinions and dispositions of the kings and states in regard to the Macedonian war. After several embassies on both sides, the war is declared in form.*

THE death of Philip (a) happened very opportunely for suspending the war against the Romans, and giving them time to prepare for it. That prince had formed a strange design, and had already begun to put it in execution; which was, to bring a considerable body of troops, both horse and foot, from European Sarmatia (part of Poland.) Certain Gauls had settled near the mouths of the Borysthenes, now called the Nieper, and had taken the name of Bastarnæ. That people were neither accustomed to till the earth, nor to feed cattle, nor to follow commerce: they lived by war, and sold their services to any people that would employ them. After having passed the Danube, Philip was to have settled them upon the lands of the Dardanians, whom he had resolved utterly to exterminate; because, being very near neighbours of Macedonia, they never failed to take every favourable occasion for making irruptions into it. The Bastarnæ were to leave their wives and children in this new settlement, and to march into Italy, in order to enrich themselves with the booty they were in hopes of making there. Whatever the success might be, Philip conceived he should find great advantages in it: if it should happen that the Bastarnæ were conquered by the Romans, he should easily be consoled for their defeat, in seeing himself delivered from the Dardanians by their means; and if their irruption into Italy succeeded, whilst the Romans were employed in repelling these new enemies, he should have time to recover all he had lost in Greece. The Bastarnæ were already upon their march, and were considerably advanced, when they received advice of Philip's death. This news and several accidents that befell them, suspended the first design, and they dispersed into different parts. Antigonus, whom Philip intended for his successor, had been employed against his will in negotiating this affair.

(a) A. M. 3826. Ant. J. C. 178. Liv. l. xl. n. 57, 58. Oros. l. iv. c. 20.

At his return, Perseus put him to death, and to assure himself the better of the throne, sent ambassadors to the Romans to demand, that they would renew with him the alliance they had made with his father, and that the senate would acknowledge him king. His sole intent was to gain time.

Part of the Bastarnæ (*b*) had pursued their rout, and were actually at war with the Dardanians. The Romans took umbrage at it. Perseus excused himself by his ambassadors, and represented that he had not sent for them, and had no share in their enterprize. The senate, without making any farther enquiry into the affair, contented themselves with advising him to take care that he observed inviolably the treaty made with the Romans. The Bastarnæ, after having gained some advantages at first, were at length reduced, the greatest part of them at least, to return into their own country. It is said, that having found the Danube froze over, in endeavouring to pass it, the ice broke under them, and a great number of them were swallowed up in the river.

It was known at Rome (*c*), that Perseus had sent ambassadors to Carthage, and that the senate had given them audience in the night, in the temple of Æsculapius. It was thought proper to send ambassadors into Macedonia to observe the conduct of that prince. He had lately reduced the * Dolopians, who refused to obey him, by force of arms. After that expedition he advanced towards Delphos, upon pretence of consulting the oracle, but in reality, it was believed, to make the tour of Greece, and negotiate alliances. This journey at first alarmed the whole country, and occasioned so general a consternation, that even Eumenes did not think himself safe in Pergamus. But Perseus, as soon as he had consulted the oracle, returned into his own kingdom, passing through Phthiotis, Achaia, and Thessaly, without committing any hostilities in his march. He afterwards sent either ambassadors or circular letters to all the states through which he had passed, to demand that they would forget such subjects of discontent as they might have had under the reign of his father, which ought to be buried in his grave.

His principal attention was to reconcile himself with the Achæans. Their league, and the city of Athens, had carried

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ried

(*b*) A. M. 3829. Ant. J. C. 175. Freinheim in Liv. (*c*) A. M. 3830. Ant. J. C. 174. Liv. l. xli. n. 27—29.

* *Dolopia* was a region of Thessaly, upon the confines of Epirus.

ried their hatred and resentment so high against the Macedonians, as to prohibit all commerce with them by a decree. This declared enmity gave the slaves, who fled from Athens the opportunity of retiring into Macedonia, where they found an assured asylum, and knew they should not be followed after that general interdiction. Perseus caused these slaves to be seized, and sent them back to the Athenians with an obliging letter, in which he exhorted them to effectual methods for preventing their slaves from making dominions their refuge any longer. This was tacitly denying the re-establishment of their ancient commerce. Xenarchus, who was at that time in office, and desired to make court to the king, seconded his demand very strongly, and was supported by those who were most solicitous for recovering their slaves.

Callicrates, one of the principal persons of the assembly who was convinced that the safety of the league consisted in the inviolable observance of the treaty concluded with the Romans, represented that a reconciliation with Macedonia was a direct infraction of it, whilst that kingdom was making preparations to declare war against Rome as soon as possible. He concluded, that it was necessary to leave things in the present condition, till time should explain whether they were just or not. That if Macedonia continued in peace with Rome, it would be time enough, when that appeared, to re-establish commerce with them; without which, a renewal would be precipitate and dangerous.

Arcon, Xenarchus's brother, who spoke after Callicrates, did his utmost to prove, that such terrors were without foundation; that the question was not the making of a new treaty and alliance with Perseus, and much less to break with the Romans, but solely to reverse a decree, for which the intercession of Philip might have given room, but which Perseus, who had no share in his father's conduct, was undoubtedly far deserving. That that prince could not but be assured in case of a war against the Romans, the league would fail to declare for them. "But," added he, "while peace subsists, if animosities and dissensions are not to cease entirely, it is at least reasonable to suspend hostilities, and to let them sleep for a while."

Nothing was concluded in this assembly. As it was known that the king had contented himself with only sending them a letter; he afterwards sent ambassadors to the assembly which had been summoned to Megalopolis. But those

apprehended giving Rome offence, used such effectual means, that they were refused audience.

The ambassadors (*d*), sent by the senate into Macedonia, reported, at their return, that they could not get access to the king, upon pretence that he was sometimes abroad, and sometimes indisposed; a double evasion equally false. That for the rest, it appeared plainly, that great preparations were making for war, and that it was reasonable to expect it would speedily break out. They gave an account also of the state in which they found Ætolia; that it was in great commotion from domestick divisions, which the violence of two contending parties had carried into vast disorders; and that their authority had not been capable of reclaiming and appeasing the persons at the head of them.

As Rome expected the war with Macedonia, preparations were made for it by the religious ceremonies, which amongst the Romans always preceded declarations of war, that is to say, by expiation of prodigies, and various sacrifices offered to the gods.

Marcellus was one of the ambassadors whom the senate had sent into Greece. After having appeased as much as possible the troubles of Ætolia, he went into Peloponnesus, where he caused the assembly of the Achæans to be summoned. He extremely applauded their zeal, in having constantly adhered to the decree, which prohibited all commerce with the kings of Macedonia. This was an open declaration of what the Romans thought with regard to Perseus.

That prince incessantly solicited the Grecian cities, by frequent embassies and magnificent promises, far exceeding his power to perform. They were sufficiently inclined in his favour, and rather more than in that of Eumenes, though the latter had rendered great services to most of those cities; and those of his own dominions would not have changed condition with such as were entirely free. There was, however, no comparison between the two princes in point of character and manners. Perseus was utterly infamous for his crimes and cruelties. He was accused of having murdered his wife with his own hands, after the death of his father; of having made away with Apelles, whose aid he had used in destroying his brother; and of having committed many other murders, both within and without his kingdom. On the contrary, Eumenes had rendered himself amiable by his tenderness for his brothers and relations; by his justice in governing his subjects; and by his generous propensity to do good, and to serve others. Not-

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with-

withstanding this difference of character, they gave Perseus the preference; whether the ancient grandeur of the Macedonian kings inspired them with contempt for a state whose origin was wholly recent, and which they had seen take birth; or that the Greeks had some change in view; or because they were pleased with having some support in him to hold the Romans in respect.

Perseus (*e*) was particularly attentive in cultivating the amity of the Rhodians, and of separating them from the party of Rome. It was from Rhodes that Laodice, the daughter of Seleucus, went to share the Macedonian throne with Perseus, in marrying him. The Rhodians had fitted him out as fine a fleet as could be imagined. Perseus had furnished the materials, and gave gold ribbands to every soldier and seaman who came with Laodice. A sentence passed by Rome in favour of the Lycians against the people of Rhodes, had extremely exasperated the latter. Perseus endeavoured to take the advantage of their resentment against Rome, to attach them to himself.

The (*f*) Romans were not ignorant of the measures taken by Perseus to bring over the states of Greece into his views. Eumenes came expressly to Rome to inform them at large of his proceedings. He was received there with all possible marks of distinction. He declared, that besides his desire to pay his homage to the gods and men, to whom he owed an establishment which left him nothing to wish, he had undertaken this voyage expressly, to advise the senate in person to be upon their guard against the enterprizes of Perseus. That that prince had inherited his father's hatred for the Romans as well as his crown, and omitted no preparations for a war, which he believed in a manner fallen to him in right of succession. That the long peace Macedonia had enjoyed, supplied him with the means of raising numerous and formidable troops; that he had a rich and powerful kingdom; that he was himself, in the flower of his youth, full of ardour for military expeditions, to which he had been early inured in the sight, and under the conduct of his father, and had since much exercised himself in different enterprizes against his neighbours. That he was highly considered by the cities of Greece and Asia; without seeming to have any sort of merit to support such credit, except his enmity for the Romans. That he was upon as good terms with powerful kings. That he had espoused the daughter of Seleucus, and given

(*e*) Polyb. Legat. ix, lxi.
Liv. l. xlii. n. 32—34.

(*f*) A. M. 3832. Ant. J. C. 172.

given his sister in marriage to Prusias. That he had found means to engage the Beotians in his interest, a very warlike people, whom his father had never been able to bring over; and that, but for the opposition of a few persons well affected to the Romans, he had certainly renewed the alliance with the Achaean confederates. That it was to Perseus the Aetolians applied for aid in their domestick troubles, and not to the Romans. That supported by these powerful allies, he made such preparations of war himself, as put him into a condition to dispense with any foreign aid. That he had 30,000 foot, 5000 horse, and provisions for ten years. That besides his immense annual revenues from the mines, he had enough to pay 10,000 foreign troops for a like number of years, without reckoning those of his kingdom. That he had laid up in his arsenals a sufficient quantity of arms to equip three armies as great as that he had actually on foot; and that, tho' Macedonia should be incapable of supplying him with troops, Thrace was at his devotion, which was an inexhaustible nursery of soldiers. Eumenes added, that he advanced nothing upon simple conjecture, but upon the certain knowledge of facts, founded upon the best information. "For the rest," said he, in concluding, "having discharged the duty which my regard and gratitude for the Roman people made indispensable, and delivered my conscience, it only remains for me to implore all the gods and goddesses, that they would inspire you with sentiments and measures consistent with the glory of your empire, and the preservation of your friends and allies, whose safety depends upon yours."

The senators were much affected with this discourse. Nothing that passed in the senate, except that king Eumenes had spoke, was known abroad, or suffered to take air at first; so inviolably were the deliberations of that august assembly kept secret.

The ambassadors from king Perseus had audience some days after. They found the senate highly prejudiced against their master, and what Harpalus, one of them, said in his speech, enflamed them still more against him. It was, that Perseus desired to be believed upon his own word, when he declared he had neither done nor said any thing that argued an enemy. That, as for the rest, if he discovered that they were obstinately bent upon a rupture with him, he should know how to defend himself with valour. That the fortune and events of war are always hazardous and uncertain.

The cities of Greece and Asia, anxious for the effect which these embassies might produce at Rome, had also sent deputies thither under different pretexts, especially the Rhodians, who suspected that Eumenes had joined them in his accusation against Perseus, and were not deceived. In an audience granted them, they inveighed violently against Eumenes, reproaching him with having stirred up Lycia against the Rhodians, and of having rendered himself more insupportable to Asia, than Antiochus himself. This discourse was very agreeable to the Asiatick people, who secretly favoured Perseus, but very much displeased the senate, and had no other effect than to make them suspect the Rhodians, and have Eumenes in higher consideration, from this kind of conspiracy which they saw formed against him. He was dismissed in consequence with the highest honours, and great presents.

Harpalus, (*g*) having returned into Macedonia with the utmost diligence, reported to Perseus, that he had left the Romans in a disposition not to defer a long declaration of the war against him. The king was not sorry upon that account, believing himself in a condition, with the great preparations he had made, to support it with success. He was more particularly glad of a rupture with Eumenes, from whom he suspected that Rome had been apprised of his most secret measures, and began with declaring against him, not by the way of arms, but by that of the most criminal treachery. He dispatched Evander of Crete, the general of his auxiliary forces, with three Macedonians, who had already been employed by him upon like occasions, to assassinate that prince. Perseus knew that he was preparing for a journey to Delphos, and directed his assassins to Praxo, a woman of condition, in whose house he had lodged, when he was in that city. They lay in ambush in a narrow defile, where two men could not pass abreast. When the king came there, the assassins rolled two great stones down upon him, one of which fell upon his head, and laid him upon the earth without sense, and the other wounded him considerably in the shoulder; after which they poured an hail of lesser stones upon him. All that were with him fled, except one who staid to assist him. The assassins, believing the king dead, made off to the top of mount Parnassus. His officers found him when they returned, without motion, and almost without life. When he came a little to himself, he was carried to Corinth, and from thence into the island of Egina, where great care was taken to cure his wounds,

wounds, but with so much secrecy, that no one was admitted into his chamber; which gave reason to believe him dead. That report spread even to Asia. Attalus gave credit to it too soon for a good brother, and looking upon himself already as king, was preparing to espouse the widow. Eumenes, at their first interview, could not forbear making him some gentle reproaches upon that head, though he had at first resolved to dissemble his sense of his brother's imprudence.

Perseus had attempted at the same time to poison him by the means of Rammius, who had made a voyage into Macedonia. He was a rich citizen of Brundisium, who received in his house all the Roman generals, foreign lords, and even princes, who passed through that city. The king put into his hands a very subtle poison, for him to give Eumenes, when he should come to his house. Rammius did not dare to refuse his commission, whatever horror he had for it, lest the king should make a trial of the draught upon himself; but he set out with a full resolution not to execute it. Having been informed that Valerius was at Chalcis, upon his return from his embassy into Macedonia, he went to him, discovered the whole, and attended him to Rome. Valerius also carried Praxo thither along with him, at whose house the assassins had lodged in Delphos. When the senate had heard these two witnesses, after such black attempts, they thought it unnecessary to deliberate longer upon declaring war against a prince, who made use of assassinations and poison to rid himself of his enemies, and proceeded to take due measures for the success of so important an enterprize.

Two ambassadors, who arrived at Rome about the same time, gave the senate great pleasure. The first came from Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, the fifth of that name. He sent the son, whom he intended for his successor, to Rome, to be educated there, from his earliest infancy, in the principles of the Romans, and to form himself in the great art of reigning, by the conversation and study of their great men; and he desired that the Roman people would take him into their care and tuition. The young prince was received with all the marks of distinction that could be shewn him, and the senate caused a commodious house to be provided for him at the expence of the publick. The other embassy was from the Thracians, who desired to be admitted into the alliance and amity of the Romans.

As soon as Eumenes (*b*) was entirely recovered, he repaired to Pergamus, and applied himself in making pre-
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(*b*) Liv. l. xlii, n. 25—27.

parations for war with uncommon ardour, excited by the new crime of his enemy. The senate sent ambassadors to compliment him upon the extreme danger he had escaped, and dispatched others at the same time to confirm the kings, their allies, in their ancient amity with the Roman people.

They sent also to Perseus to make their complaints, and to demand satisfaction. These ambassadors, seeing they could not have audience for many days, set out in order to return to Rome. The king caused them to be recalled. They represented, that by the treaty concluded with Philip his father, and afterwards renewed with him, it was expressly stipulated, that he should not carry the war out of his own kingdom, nor attack the Roman people. They then repeated all his contraventions to that treaty, and demanded that restitution should be made to the allies of all he had taken from them by force. The king replied only with rage and reproaches, taxing the Romans with avarice and pride, and of treating kings with insupportable haughtiness, to whom they pretended to dictate laws as to their slaves. Upon their demanding a positive answer, he referred them to the next day, when he intended to give it them in writing. The substance of it was, that the treaty concluded with his father did not affect him. That if he had accepted it, it was not because he approved it, but because he could do no otherwise, not being sufficiently established upon the throne. That if the Romans were for entering into a new treaty, and would propose reasonable conditions, he should consult what it was necessary for him to do. The king, after having delivered this writing, withdrew immediately; and the ambassadors declared, that the Roman people renounced his alliance and amity. The king returned in great wrath, and told them in a menacing tone, that they should take care to quit his kingdom in three days. At their return to Rome, they reported the result of their embassy; and added, that they had observed, in all the cities of Macedonia through which they passed, that great preparations were making for war.

The ambassadors that had been sent to the kings their allies, reported that they found Eumenes in Asia, Antiochus in Syria, and Ptolemy in Egypt, well inclined to the Roman people, and ready to do every thing that should be desired of them. The senate would not grant audience to the ambassadors of Gentius, king of Illyria, who was accused of holding intelligence with Perseus; and deferred hearing those from the Rhodians, who had also rendered themselves suspected, till the

new consuls entered upon their office. However, not to lose time, orders were given for fitting out a fleet of fifty galleys, to sail as soon as possible for Macedonia, which was executed without delay.

P. Licinius Crassus and C. Cassius Longinus, were elected consuls, and Macedonia fell by lot to Licinius.

Not only Rome and Italy, but all the kings and cities as well of Europe as Asia, had their eyes fixed upon the two great powers upon the point of entering into a war.

Eumenes was animated with an ancient hatred against Perseus, and still more by the new crime, which had almost cost him his life, in his voyage to Delphos.

Prusias, king of Bithynia, had resolved to stand neuter, and wait the event. He flattered himself, that the Romans would not insist upon his taking up arms against his wife's brother, and hoped if Perseus were victorious, that prince would easily acquiesce in his neutrality at the request of his sister.

Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, besides having promised to aid the Romans, inviolably adhered, either in war or peace, to the party Eumenes espoused, after having contracted an affinity with him, by giving him his daughter in marriage.

Antiochus had formed a design to possess himself of Egypt, relying upon the weakness of the king's youth, and the indolence and cowardice of those who had the care of his person and affairs. He imagined, that he had found a plausible pretext for making war upon that prince, by disputing Cœlosyria with him; and that the Romans, employed in the war with Macedonia, would not obstruct his ambitious desires. He had, however, declared to the senate by his ambassadors, that they might dispose of all his forces, and had repeated the same promise to the ambassadors the Romans had sent to him.

Ptolemy, through his tender age, was incapable to resolve for himself. His guardians made preparations for the war with Antiochus, in defence of Cœlosyria, and promised to contribute every thing in their power to the aid of the Romans in the Macedonian war.

Masiniſſa supplied the Romans with corn, troops, and elephants, and intended to send his son Misagenes to join them. His plan and political motives were the effect of his desire to possess himself of the Carthaginian territories. If the Romans conquered, he conceived it impossible to execute that project, because they would never suffer him to ruin the Car-

tha-

thaginians entirely; in which case he should continue in his present condition. If, on the contrary, the Roman power, which alone prevented him out of policy from extending his conquests, and at that time supported Carthage, should happen to be reduced, he expected, in consequence, to make himself master of all Africa.

Gentius, king of Illyria, had only rendered himself much suspected by the Romans, without knowing however which party he should chuse; and it seemed, that if he adhered to either, it would be rather out of caprice and by chance, than from any fixed plan or regular object.

As for Cotys of Thrace, king of the *Odrysæ*, he had declared openly for the Macedonians.

Such was the disposition of the kings with regard to the Macedonian war. As for the states and free cities, the populace were universally inclined in favour of Perseus and the Macedonians. The opinions of the persons in authority amongst those people were divided into three classes. Some of them abandoned themselves so abjectly to the Romans, that by their blind devotion to them, they lost all credit and reputation with their citizens; and of these, few concerned themselves about the justice of the Roman government: most of them having no views but to their private interest, convinced that their power in their cities would subsist in proportion to the services they should render the Romans. The second class was of those, who gave entirely into the king's measures; some, because their debts, and the bad estate of their affairs, made them desire a change; others, because the pomp that reigns in the courts of kings, upon which Perseus valued himself, agreed best with their own little pride and vanity. A third class, which were the most prudent and judicious, if it were absolutely necessary to take either part, would have preferred the Romans to the king's; but had it been left to their choice, they would have been best satisfied, that neither of the parties should become too powerful by reducing the other; and preserving a kind of equality and balance, should always continue in peace: because then, one of them, by taking the weaker states under its protection, whenever the other should attempt to oppress them, would render the condition of them all more happy and secure. In this kind of indeterminate neutrality they saw, as from a place of safety, the battles and dangers of those who had engaged in either party.

The Romans, after having, according to their laudable custom, discharged all the duties of religion, offered solemn prayers and sacrifices to the gods, and made vows for the hap-

happy success of the enterprize they had been so long preparing for, declared war in form against Perseus, king of Macedonia, except he made immediate satisfaction in regard to the several grievances already more than once explained to him.

At the same time arrived ambassadors from him, who said, that the king their master was much amazed at their having made troops enter Macedonia, and that he was ready to give the senate all the satisfaction in his power. As it was known that Perseus sought only to gain time, they were answered that the consul Licinius would be in Macedonia with his army, and that if the king desired peace in earnest, he might send his ambassadors to him, but that he need not give himself the trouble of sending any more into Italy, where they would not be received; and for themselves, they were ordered to quit it in twelve days.

The Romans (*i*) omitted nothing that might contribute to the success of their arms. They dispatched ambassadors on all sides to their allies, to animate and confirm those who persisted to adhere to them, to determine such as were fluctuating and uncertain, and to intimidate those who appeared inclined to break with them.

Whilst they were at Larissa in Thessaly, ambassadors arrived there from Perseus, who had orders to address themselves to Marcius, one of the Roman ambassadors, to remind him of the ancient ties of friendship his father had contracted with king Philip, and to demand an interview between him and their master. Marcius answered, that his father had often spoke of king Philip's friendship and hospitality, and appointed a place near the river Peneus for the interview. They went thither some days after. The king had a great train, and was surrounded with a crowd of great lords and guards. The ambassadors were no less attended; many of the citizens of Larissa, and of the deputies from other states, who had repaired thither, making it a duty to go with them, well pleased with that occasion of carrying home what they should see and hear. They had besides a curiosity to be present at an interview between a great king and the ambassadors of the most powerful people in the world.

After some difficulties which arose about the ceremonial, and were soon removed in favour of the Romans, who had the precedency, they began to confer. Their meeting was highly respectful on both sides. They did not treat each other like enemies, but rather as friends bound in the sacred ties of hospi-

(*i*) Liv. l. xlii. n. 37—44. Polyb. Legat. lxiii.

hospitality. Marcius, who spoke first, began by excusing himself for the unhappy necessity he was under of reproaching a prince, for whom he had the highest consideration. He afterwards expatiated upon all the causes of complaint the Roman people had against him, and his various infractions of treaty with them. He insisted very much on his attempt upon Eumenes, and concluded with professing, that he should be very glad the king would supply him with good reasons for his conduct, and thereby enable him to plead his cause, and justify him before the senate.

Perseus, after having touched lightly upon the affair of Eumenes, which he seemed astonished that any one should presume to impute to him without any proof, rather than to so many others of that prince's enemies, entered into a long discourse, and replied, in the best manner possible, to the several heads of the accusation against him. "Of this I am
" "assured," said he in concluding, "that my conscience
" does not reproach me with having committed any fault
" knowingly, and with premeditated design, against the
" Romans; and if I have done any thing unwarily, apprized
" as I now am, it is in my power to amend it. I have certainly
" acted nothing to deserve the implacable enmity with
" which I am pursued, as guilty of the blackest and most
" enormous crimes, and neither to be expiated nor forgiven.
" It must be without foundation, that the clemency
" and wisdom of the Roman people is universally extolled, if
" for such slight causes, as scarce merit complaint and remembrance,
" they take up arms, and make war upon kings in
" alliance with them."

The result of this conference was, that Perseus should send new ambassadors to Rome, in order to try all possible means to prevent a rupture and open war. This was a snare laid by the artful commissioner for the king's inadvertency, and to gain time. He feigned at first great difficulties in complying with the truce demanded by Perseus, for time to send his ambassadors to Rome, and seemed at last to give into it only out of consideration for the king. The true reason was, because the Romans had not yet either troops or general in a condition to act; whereas, on the side of Perseus, every thing was ready;

• *Conscius mihi sum, nihil me scientem deliquisse; & si quid fecerim imprudentia lapsus, corrige me & emendari castigatione hac posse. Nihil certe insanabile, nec quod bello & armis persequendum esse*

conscitis, commisi; aut frustra clementiæ gravitatisque vestræ fama vulgata per gentes est, si talibus de causis, quæ vix querela & expostulatione dignæ sunt, arma capitis, & regibus sociis bella inferitis. Liv.

dy; and if he had not been amused by the vain hope of a peace, he might have taken the advantage of a conjuncture so favourable for himself, and so contrary for his enemies, to have entered upon action.

After this interview, the Roman ambassadors advanced into Bœotia, where there had been great commotions; some declaring for Perseus, and others for the Romans; but at length the latter party prevailed. The Thebans, and the other people of Bœotia, by their example, made an alliance with the Romans; each by their own deputies, and not by the consent of the whole body of the nation, according to ancient custom. In this manner the Bœotians, from having rashly engaged in the party of Perseus, after having formed through a long course of time a republick, which on several occasions had preserved itself from the greatest dangers, saw themselves separated and governed by as many councils as there were cities in the province; all of which in the sequel remained independent of each other, and formed no longer one united league as at first. And this was an effect of the Roman policy, which divided them to make them weak; well knowing, that it was much easier to bring them into their measures, and subject them by that means, than if their union subsisted. No other cities in Bœotia, except Coronæa and Haliartus, persisted in the alliance with Perseus.

From Bœotia the commissioners went into Peloponnesus. The assembly of the Achæan league was summoned to Argos. They demanded only a thousand men to garrison Chalcis, till the Roman army should enter Greece; which troops were ordered thither immediately. Marcius and Atilius, having terminated the affairs of Greece, returned to Rome in the beginning of the winter.

About the same time Rome sent (*k*) new commissioners into the most considerable islands of Asia, to exhort them to send powerful aid into the field against Perseus. The Rhodians signalized themselves upon this occasion. Hegesiloclus, who was at that time Prytanis, (the principal magistrate was so called) had prepared the people, by representing to them, that it was necessary to efface by actions, and not by words only, the bad impressions with which Eumenes had endeavoured to inspire the Romans, in regard to their fidelity. So that upon the arrival of the ambassadors, they shewed them a fleet of forty ships entirely equipped, and ready to sail upon the first orders. This agreeable surprize was highly pleasing to the Romans, who returned from thence exceedingly satisfied.

(*k*) Liv. l. xlii. n. 45—48. Polyb. Legat. lxiv. — lxxviii.

with so distinguished a zeal, which had prevented their demands.

Perseus, in consequence of his interview with Marcius, sent ambassadors to Rome, to treat there upon what had been proposed in that conference. He dispatched other ambassadors with letters for Rhodes and Byzantium, in which he explained what had passed in the interview, and deduced at large the reasons upon which his conduct was founded. He exhorted the Rhodians in particular to remain quiet, and to wait as spectators, only till they saw what resolutions the Romans would take. — “ If, contrary to the treaties subsisting between us, they attack me, you will be (said he) the mediators between the two nations. All the world is interested in their continuing to live in peace, and it behoves none more than you to endeavour their reconciliation. Defenders, not only of your own, but the liberty of all Greece; the more zeal and ardour you have for so great a good, the more ought you to be upon your guard against whomsoever should attempt to inspire you with different sentiments. You cannot but know, that the certain means * to reduce Greece into slavery, is to make it dependent upon one people only, without leaving it any other to have recourse to.” The ambassadors were received with great respect; but were answered, That in case of war, the king was desired not to rely upon the Rhodians, nor to demand any thing of them in prejudice to the alliance they had made with the Romans. The same ambassadors went also into Boeotia, where they had almost as little reason to be satisfied; only a few small (!) cities separating from the Thebans to embrace the king's party.

Marcius and Atilius, at their return to Rome, reported to the senate the success of their commission. They dwelt particularly upon the address of their stratagem to deceive Perseus by granting him a truce, which prevented him from beginning the war immediately with advantage, as he might have done, and gave the Romans time to complete their preparations, and to take the field. They did not forget their success in dissolving the general assembly of the Boeotians, to prevent their uniting with Macedonia by common consent.

The

(!) Coronæa and Hiliartus.

* Cum cæterorum id interesse, [atque opibus excellent, quæ serva-
tum præcæue Rhodiorum, quo [atque obnoxia fore, si alius alio sit
plus inter alias civitates dignitate [quam ad Romanos respectus. Liv.

the greatest part of the senate expressed great satisfaction with a conduct, which argued profound policy, and uncommon dexterity in negotiation. But the old senators, who imbibed other principles, and persevered in their ancient maxims, said, They did not see the Roman character suited in such dealing. That their ancestors, relying more on true valour than fraud, used to make war openly, and not in disguise and under cover; that such unworthy artifices were the Carthaginians and Grecians, with whom it was not glorious to deceive an enemy, than conquer him with force. That, indeed, stratagem sometimes, in the event of action, seemed to succeed better than valour; but a victory obtained vigorously in a battle, where the force of the troops on each side was tried as near as possible, and where the enemy could not ascribe either to chance or cunning, was of a much more lasting effect, because it left a strong impression of the victor's superior force and bravery.

Notwithstanding these remonstrances of the ancient senators, who could not relish these new maxims of policy, that of the senate which preferred the useful to the honourable, were much the majority upon this occasion, and the conduct of the two commissioners was approved. Marcius went again with some galleys into Greece, to regulate such as he should think most consistent with the service of the public, and Atilius into Thessaly, to take possession of Larissa. Upon the expiration of the truce, Perseus shouldered himself master of that important place, the capital of Macedonia. Lentulus was also sent to Thebes, to have an eye upon Boeotia.

Though the war with Perseus was resolved at Rome, the senate gave audience to his ambassadors. They repeated the same things which had been said in the interview with Licinius, and endeavoured to justify their master principally in the attempt he was accused of having made on the person of the king. They were heard with little or no attention, the senate ordered them, and all the Macedonians at Rome, to quit the city immediately, and Italy in thirty days. Lucius Licinius, who was to command in Macedonia, had orders to march as soon as possible with his army. The consul Lucius, who had the command of the fleet, set forth with five-and-forty galleys from Cephallonia, and arrived in five days at Naples, where he was to wait for the land forces.

SECT.

SECT. II. *The consul LICINIUS and king PERSEUS take the field. They both encamp near the river Peneus, at some distance from each other. Fight of the horse, in which PERSEUS has considerably the advantage, and makes an ill use of it. He endeavours to make a peace, but ineffectually. The armies on both sides go into winter-quarters.*

(m) **T**HE consul Licinius, after having offered his vows to the gods in the Capitol, set out from Rome, covered with a coat of arms, according to the custom: The departure of the consuls, says Livy, was always attended with great solemnity, and an incredible concourse of people, especially upon an important war, and against a powerful enemy. Besides the interest every particular might have in the glory of the consul, the citizens were induced to throng about him, out of a curiosity to see the general, to whose prudence and valour the fate of the republick was confided. A thousand anxious thoughts presented themselves at that time to their minds upon the events of the war, which are always precarious and uncertain. They remembered the defeats which had happened through the bad conduct and temerity, and the victories for which they were indebted to the wisdom and courage of their generals. "What mortal," said they, "can know the fate of a consul at his departure; whether we shall see him with his victorious army return in triumph to the Capitol, from whence he sets out, after having offered up his prayers to the gods, or whether the enemy may not rejoice in his overthrow?" The ancient glory of the Macedonians; that of Philip, who had made himself famous by his wars, and particularly by that against the Romans, added very much to the reputation of Perseus; and every body knew, that from his succession to the crown a war had been expected from him. Full of such thoughts, the citizens conducted the consul out of the city. C. Claudius and Q. Marcius, who had both been consuls, did not think it below them to serve in his army in quality of military tribunes (or as colonels or brigadiers) and went with him; as did P. Lentulus and the two Manlii Acidini. The consul repaired in their company to Brundisium, which was the rendezvous of the army, and passing the sea with all his troops, arrived at Nymphæum in the country of the Apollonians.

Perseus, some days before, upon the return of his ambassadors from Rome, and their assuring him, that there remained

hope of peace, held a great council, in which opinions were different. Some thought it necessary for him either to tribute, if required, or give up a part of his dominions, if the Romans insisted upon it; in a word, to suffer every thing supportable for the sake of peace, rather than expose person and kingdom to the danger of entire destruction. But, if a part of his kingdom was left him, time and chance might produce favourable conjunctures, to put him in a position not only to recover all he had lost, but to render himself formidable to those who at present made Macedonia tremble.

The greater number were of a quite different opinion. They insisted, that by making cession of a part, he must decline to lose all his kingdom. That it was neither money nor land that incited the ambition of the Romans, but universal empire. That they knew the greatest kingdoms and most powerful empires were subject to frequent revolutions. That they had humbled, or rather ruined Carthage, without taking possession of its territories; contenting themselves with keeping it in awe by the neighbourhood of Masinissa. That they had driven Antiochus and his army beyond mount Taurus. That there was no kingdom but Macedonia to give umbrage to, or make head against the Romans. That prudence required Perseus, whilst he was still master of it, seriously to consider with himself, whether by making the Romans sometimes one companion, and sometimes another, he was resolved to see himself deprived of all power, expelled from his dominions, and obliged to ask, as a favour of the Romans, permission to reside and confine himself in Samothracia, or some other place, there to pass the rest of his days in contempt and misery, with the mortification of surviving his glory and empire; or whether he would chuse to hazard in arms all the risks of the war in defence of his fortunes and dignity, as became a man of courage; and in case of being victorious, the glory of delivering the universe from the Roman yoke. That it would be no more a wonder to drive the Romans out of Greece, than it had been to drive Hannibal out of Italy. Besides, was it consistent for Perseus, after having opposed his brother with all his efforts, when he attempted to usurp the crown, to resign it meanly to strangers, that endeavoured to wrest it out of his hands? That, in fine, all the world would be edified, that there was nothing more inglorious, than to give up an empire without resistance, nor more laudable, than to have made all possible endeavours to preserve it.

This

This council was held at Pella, the ancient capital of Macedonia. *Since you think it so necessary*, said the king, *I make war then with the help of the gods.* He gave order the same time to his generals, to assemble all their troops at Citium, whither he went soon after himself, with all the rest of his court, and his regiments of guards, after having offered a sacrifice of an hecatomb, or an hundred oxen, to Minerva Alcidema. He found the whole army assembled there amounted, including the foreign troops, to thirty-nine thousand foot, of whom almost half composed the phalanx, 4000 horse. It was agreed, that since the army Alexander had led into Asia, no king of Macedonia had commanded one so numerous.

It was twenty six years since Philip had made peace with the Romans, and as during all that time Macedonia had remained in tranquillity, and without any considerable change there were in it great numbers of youths capable of bearing arms, who had already begun to exercise and form themselves in the wars Macedonia had supported against the Thracians their neighbours. Philip besides, and Perseus after him, long before formed the design of undertaking a war with the Romans. Hence it was, that at the time we speak of; everything was ready for beginning it.

Perseus, before he took the field, thought it necessary to harangue his troops. He mounted his throne therefore, from thence, having his sons on each side of him, spoke to them with great force. He began with a long recital of injuries the Romans had committed with regard to his father, which had induced him to resolve to take up arms against them; but that design a sudden death prevented him from putting in execution. He added, that presently after the death of Philip, the Romans had sent ambassadors to Macedonia, and at the same time marched troops into Greece, to take possession of the strongest places. That afterwards, in order to gain time, they had amused him during all the winter with deceitful interviews, and a pretended truce, under the specious pretext of negotiating a reconciliation. He compared the consul's army, which was actually on its march, with that of the Macedonians; which, in his sense, was much superior to the other, not only in the number and valour of the troops, but in ammunition and provisions of war, laid with infinite care during a great number of years. "I am confident," said he, "that I shall be able to do more than my fathers, and my grandsires, and my great uncles, and my great aunts, therefore, Macedonians," said he, in conclusion, "only to act with the same courage your ancestors showed when, having triumphed over all Europe, they crossed the Hellespont."

Asia, and set no other bounds to their conquests, than those of the universe. You are not now to carry your arms to the extremities of the East, but to defend yourselves in the possession of the kingdom of Macedonia. When the Romans attacked my father, they covered that unjust war with the false pretence of re-establishing the ancient liberty of Greece; the present they undertake without any disguise, to reduce and enslave Macedonia. That haughty people cannot bear that the Roman empire should have any king for its neighbour, nor that any warlike nation should have arms for their defence. For you may be assured, if you refuse to make war, and will submit to the orders of those insulting masters, that you must resolve to deliver up your arms with your king and his kingdom to them."

At these words the whole army, which had expressed no immoderate applause for the rest of his discourse, raised cries of anger and indignation, exhorting the king to entertain the best hopes, and demanding earnestly to be led against the enemy.

Perseus then gave audience to the ambassadors from the cities of Macedonia, who came to offer him money and provisions for the occasions of the army, each according to their power. The king thanked them in the kindest manner, but did not accept their offers; giving for his reason, that the army was abundantly provided with all things necessary. He only demanded carriages for the battering-rams, catapultæ, and other machines of war.

The two armies were now in motion. That of the Macedonians, after some days march, arrived at Sycurium, a city situated at the foot of mount Oeta; the consul's was at Gomphi in Thessaly, after having surmounted the most incredible difficulties in ways and defiles almost impracticable. The Romans themselves confessed, that had the enemy defended those passes, they might easily have destroyed their whole army in them. The consul advanced within three miles of the country called Tripolis, and encamped upon the banks of the river Peneus.

At the same time Eumenes arrived at Chalcis with his brother Attalus and Athenæus; Phileterus, the fourth, was left at Pergamus for the defence of the country. Eumenes and Attalus joined the consul with four thousand foot and a thousand horse. They had left Athenæus with two thousand foot at Chalcis, to reinforce the garrison of that important place.

The allies sent also other troops, though in numbers sufficiently inconsiderable, and some gallies. Perseus, in the mean time, sent out several detachments to ravage the country in the neighbourhood of Pheræ, in hopes, that if the consul should quit his camp, and march to the aid of the cities in his alliance, that he might surprize and attack him to advantage; but he was disappointed, and obliged to content himself with distributing the booty he had made amongst his soldiers, which was very considerable, and consisted principally in cattle of all sorts.

The consul and king held each of them a council at the same time, in order to resolve in what manner to begin the war. The king, highly proud of having been suffered to ravage the territories of the Pheræans without opposition, thought it advisable to go and attack the Romans in their camp without loss of time. The Romans judged rightly, that their slowness and delays would discredit them very much with their allies, and reproached themselves with not having defended the people of Pheræ. Whilst they were consulting upon the measures it was necessary to take, (Eumenes and Attalus being present) a courier came in upon the spur, and informed them the enemy were very near him with a numerous army. The signal was immediately given for the soldiers to stand to their arms, and an hundred horse detached, with as many of the light-armed foot, to take a view of the enemy. Perseus, at ten in the morning, finding himself no farther from the Roman camp than a small half league, made his foot halt, and advanced with his horse and light armed soldiers. He had scarce marched a quarter of a league, when he perceived a body of the enemy, against which he sent a small detachment of horse, supported by some light-armed troops. As the two detachments were very near equal in number, and neither side sent any fresh troops to their aid, the skirmish ended without its being possible to say which side was victorious. Perseus marched back his troops to Sycurium.

The next day, at the same hour, Perseus advanced with his troops to the same place. They were followed by chariots laden with water, for there was none to be found within six leagues of the place, the way was very dusty, and the troops might have been obliged to fight immediately, which would have incommoded them exceedingly. The Romans keeping close in their camp, and having withdrawn their advanced guards within their entrenchments, the king's troops returned

ir camp. They did the same several days, in hopes the
ns would not fail to detach their cavalry to attack their
guard; and when they had drawn them on far enough
their camp, and the battle was begun, that they might
bout. As the king's horse and light-armed foot were
much superior to those of the Romans, they assured them-
it would be no difficulty to defeat them.

e first design not succeeding, the king encamped nearer
emy, within little more than two leagues of them. At
of day, having drawn up his infantry in the same
as he had done the two preceding days, about a thousand
from the enemy, he advanced at the head of his cavalry
light-armed foot, towards the camp of the Romans.
dust which flew nearer than usual, and was raised by a
r number of troops, gave them the alarm, and the first
rought the news could scarce find belief that the ene-
as so near; because for several days before they had not
red till ten in the morning, and the sun at that time was
sing. But when it was confirmed by the cries of many
an in crowds from the gates, there was no longer any
to doubt it, and the camp was in very great confusion.
e officers repaired with the utmost haste to the gene-
rent, as the soldiers did each to his own. The neg-
ce of the consul, so ill informed in the motions of
nemy, whose nearness to him ought to have kept
perpetually upon his guard, gives us no great idea of his
y.

seus had drawn up his troops at less than five hundred
from the consul's intrenchments. Cotys, king of the
sa in Thrace, commanded the left with the horse of his
n; the light-armed troops were distributed in the inter-
of the front rank. The Macedonian and Cretan horse
d the right wing. At the extremity of each wing the
s horse and those of the auxiliaries were posted. The
kept the center with the horse that always attended his
n, before whom were placed the slingers and archers, to
four hundred in number.

ie consul having drawn up his foot in battle-array within
mp, detached only his cavalry and light-armed troops,
had orders to form a line in the front of his intrench-
s. The right wing, which consisted of all the Italian
, was commanded by C. Licinius Crassus, the consul's
ier; the left, composed of the horse of the Grecian
, by M. Valerius Levinus; both intermingled with the
armed troops. Q. Mucius was posted in the center,

with a select body of horse; two hundred Gallick horse, three hundred of Eumenes's troops, were drawn his front. Four hundred Thessalian horse were a little beyond the left wing, as a reserved body. Eumenes and his brother Attalus, with their troops posted in the space between the intrenchments and the ranks.

This was only an engagement of cavalry, which was equal on both sides, and might amount to about 4000 each, without including the light-armed troops. The battle began by the slings and missile-weapons, which were poisted in front; but that was only the prelude. The Thracians, like wild beasts long shut up, and thereby rendered furious, threw themselves first upon the right wing of the Romans, who, perfectly brave and intrepid as they were, could not support so rude and violent a charge. The armed foot, whom the Thracians had amongst them, drove down the lances of the enemy with their swords, some cutting the legs of the horses, and sometimes wounding in their flanks. Perseus, who attacked the center of the enemy, soon put the Greeks into disorder; and as they were vigorously pursued in their flight, the Thessalian wing, which, at a small distance from the left wing, formed of reserve, and in the beginning of the action had been spectators of the battle, was of great service, where the wing gave way. For those horse, retiring gently in good order, after having joined the auxiliary troops of Eumenes, gave a safe retreat between their ranks to those who fled and were dispersed; and when they saw the enemy not warm in their pursuit, were so bold as to advance to sustain and encourage their own party. As this body of horse marched in good order, and always kept their ranks, the king's cavalry, who had broke in the pursuit, did not wait their approach, nor to come to blows with them.

Happias and Leonatus having learnt the advantage of cavalry, that the king might not lose so favourable an opportunity of completing the glory of the day, by vigorously pushing the enemy, and charging them in their encampments, brought on the Macedonian phalanx of their own accord, and without orders. It appeared indeed, that the king made the least effort, he might have rendered his army complete; and in the present ardour of his troops, and terror which they had thrown the Romans, the latter must have been entirely defeated. Whilst he was deliberating with himself

ween hope and fear, upon what he should resolve, Evander* of Crete, in whom he reposed great confidence, upon seeing the halanx advance, ran immediately to Perseus, and earnestly begged of him not to abandon himself to his present success, or engage rashly in a new action, that was not necessary, and wherein he hazarded every thing. He represented to him, that if he continued quiet, and contented himself with the present advantage, he would either obtain honourable conditions of peace; or, if he should chuse to continue the war, his first success would infallibly determine those, who till then had remained neuter, to declare in his favour. The king was already inclined to follow that opinion; wherefore, having praised the counsel and zeal of Evander, he caused the retreat to be sounded for his horse, and ordered his foot to return into the camp.

The Romans lost 2000 of their light-armed infantry, at least, in this battle, and had 200 of their horse killed, and as many taken prisoners. On the other side, only twenty of their cavalry, and forty foot-soldiers, were left upon the place. The victors returned into their camp with great joy; specially the Thracians, who with songs of triumph carried the heads of those they had killed upon the end of their pikes: it was to them Perseus was principally indebted for his victory. The Romans, on the contrary, in profound sorrow kept a mournful silence, and, filled with terror, expected every moment that the enemy would come and attack them in their camp. Eumenes was of opinion, that it was proper to remove the camp to the other side of the Peneus, in order that the river might serve as an additional fortification for the troops, till they had recovered their panick. The consul was averse to the taking that step, which, as an open confession of fear, was highly dishonourable to himself and his army; but, however, being convinced by reason, he yielded to necessity, passed with his troops by favour of the night, and encamped on the other bank of the river.

Perseus advanced the next day to attack the enemy, and to give them battle, but it was then too late; he found their camp abandoned. When he saw them intrenched on the other side of the river, he perceived the enormous error he had committed the day before, in not pursuing them immediately upon their defeat; but he confessed it a still greater fault to have continued quiet and inactive during the night. For, without putting the rest of his army in motion, if he had only detached his light-armed troops against the enemy,

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during

* Perseus made use of him in the intended assassination of Eumenes.

during their confusion and disorder in passing the river, he might without difficulty have cut off at least part of their army.

We see here, in a sensible example, to what causes revolutions of states, and the fall of the greatest empires, owe their being. There is no reader but must have been surprized at seeing Perseus stop short in a decisive moment, and let slip an almost certain occasion of defeating his enemy: it requires no great capacity or penetration to distinguish so gross a fault. But how came it to pass, that Perseus, who wanted neither judgment nor experience, should be so much mistaken? A notion is suggested to him by a man he confides in. It is weak, rash, and absurd. But God, who rules the heart of man, and who wills the destruction of Macedonia, suffers no other notion to prevail in the king's breast, and removes every thought, which might, and naturally ought to have induced him to take contrary measures. Nor is that sufficient. The first fault might have been easily retrieved by a little vigilance during the night. God seems to have laid that prince and his army in a profound sleep. Not one of his officers has the least thought of observing the motions of the enemy in the night. We see nothing but what is natural in all this: but the holy scripture teaches us to think otherwise, and what was said of Saul's soldiers and officers, we may well apply to this event: *And no man saw it, nor knew it, neither awaked: For they were all asleep, because a deep sleep from the Lord was fallen upon them.* 1 Sam. xxvi. 12.

The Romans indeed, having put the river between them and the enemy, saw themselves no longer in danger of being suddenly attacked and routed; but the check they had lately received, and the wound they had given to the glory of the Roman name, made them feel the sharpest affliction. All who were present in the council of war assembled by the consul, laid the fault upon the Ætolians. It was said, that they were the first who took the alarm and fled; that the rest of the Greeks had been drawn away by their example, and that five of the chief of their nation were the first who took to flight. The Thessalians, on the contrary, were praised for their valor, and their leaders rewarded with several marks of honour.

The spoils taken from the Romans were not inconsiderable. They amounted to 1500 bucklers, 1000 cuirasses, and a much greater number of helmets, swords, and darts, of all kinds. The king made great presents of them to the officers who had distinguished themselves most; and having assembled the ar-

he began by telling them, That what had happened was a happy preface for them, and a certain pledge of what might hope for the future. He made great encomiums on the troops who had been in the action, and in magnificent terms expatiated upon the victory over the Roman horse, which the principal force of their army consisted, and which they had before believed invincible; and promised from thence a more considerable success over their enemies, who had only escaped their swords by a shameful flight during the night; but that it would be easy to force the trenchments in which their fear kept them shut up. Victorious soldiers, who carried the spoils of the enemies slain upon their shoulders, heard this discourse with great pleasure, and promised themselves every thing from his valour, judging of the future by the past. The foot, on its side, especially that which composed the Macedonian phalanx, prompted by a laudable jealousy, pretended at least equal, if not to excel, the glory of their companions upon the first occasion. In a word, the whole army demanded, with incredible ardour and passion, only to come to blows with the enemy. The king, after having dismissed the assembly forward the next day, passed the river, and encamped at Mopsium, an eminence situate between Tempe and

He enjoyed the joy for the good success of so important a battle affectingly at first in all its extent. He looked upon himself superior to a people, who alone were so in regard to all princes and nations. This was not a victory gained by force, and in a manner stolen by stratagem and address, but won by open force, and the valour and bravery of his army, and that in his own sight, and under his own conduct. He had seen the Roman haughtiness give way before him many times in one day; at first in keeping close, out of fear in their camp; then, when they ventured out of it, in shame-betaking themselves to flight; and, lastly, by flying during the obscurity of the night, and in finding no security, but by being enclosed within their intrenchments, the usual refuge of terror and apprehension. These haughtinesses were highly soothing, and capable of deceiving a king already too much affected with his own merit.

When his first transports were a little abated, and the exulting fume of sudden joy was somewhat evaporated, he came to himself, and reflecting in cool blood upon all the consequences which might attend his victory, he began to feel some sort of terror. The wisest of the courtiers about

him, (n) taking advantage of so happy a disposition, ventured to give him the council of which it made him capable; this was, to make the best of his late success, and conclude an honourable peace with the Romans. They represented to him, that the most certain mark of a prudent and really happy prince, was not to rely too much upon the present favours of fortune, nor abandon himself to the delusive glitter of prosperity. That therefore he would do well to send to the consul, and propose a renovation of the treaty, upon the same conditions imposed by T. Quintius, when victorious, upon his father Philip. That he could not put an end to the war more gloriously for himself, than after so memorable a battle; nor hope a more favourable occasion of concluding a sure and lasting peace, than at a conjuncture, when the check the Romans had received would render them more tractable, and better inclined to grant him good conditions. That if, notwithstanding that check, the Romans, out of a pride too natural to them, should reject a just and equitable accommodation, he would at least have the consolation of having the gods and men for witnesses of his own moderation, and the haughty tenaciousness of the Romans.

The king gave in to these wise remonstrances, to which he ever was averse. The majority of the council also applauded them. Ambassadors were accordingly sent to the consul, who gave them audience in the presence of a numerous assembly. They told him, they came to demand peace; that Perseus would pay the same tribute to the Romans his father Philip had done, and abandon all the cities, territories, and places, that prince had abandoned.

When they withdrew the council deliberated upon the answer it was proper to make. The Roman constancy shewed itself upon this occasion in an extraordinary manner. It was the custom * at that time to express in adversity all the assurance and loftiness of good fortune, and to act with moderation in prosperity. The answer was, That no peace could be granted to Perseus, unless he submitted himself and his kingdom to the discretion of the senate. When it was related to the king and his friends, they were strangely surprized at so extraordinary, and, in their sense, so ill-timed a pride; most of them believed it needless to talk any farther of peace, and that the Romans would be soon reduced to demand what they now refused. Perseus was not of the same opinion. He judged

* Ita tum mos erat in adversis vultum secundæ fortunæ rere, moderatim in secundis. Liv.

(n) Polyb. Legat. lxi.

judged rightly, that Rome was not so haughty, but from a consciousness of superiority; and that reflection daunted him exceedingly. He sent again to the consul, and offered a more considerable tribute than had been imposed upon Philip. When he saw the consul would retract nothing from his first answer, having no longer any hopes of peace, he returned to his former camp at Sycurium, determined to try again the fortune of the war.

We may conclude from the whole conduct of Perseus, that he must have undertaken this war with great imprudence, and without having compared his strength and resources with those of the Romans. To believe himself happy, and after a signal victory to demand peace, and submit to more oppressive conditions than his father Philip had complied with till after a bloody defeat, seems to argue, that he had taken his measures, and concerted the means to success very ill, since after a first action entirely to his advantage, he begins to discover all his weakness and inferiority, and in some sort inclines to despair. Why then was he the first to break the peace? Why was he the aggressor? Why was he in such haste? Was it to stop short at the first step? How came he not to know his weakness, till his own victory shewed it him? These are not the signs of a wise and judicious prince.

The news of the battle of the cavalry, which soon spread in Greece, made known what the people thought, and discovered in full light to which side they inclined. It was received with joy, not only by the partizans of Macedonia, but even by most of those the Romans had obliged, of whom, some suffered with pain their haughty manners, and insolence of power.

The prætor Lucretius at the same time besieged the city of Haliartus in Bœotia (*c*). After a long and vigorous defence, it was taken at last by storm, plundered, and afterwards entirely demolished. Thebes soon after surrendered, and then Lucretius returned with his fleet.

Perseus, in the mean time, who was not far from the camp of the Romans, gave them great trouble; harassing their troops, and falling upon their foragers, whenever they ventured out of their camp. He took one day a thousand carriages, laden principally with sheafs of corn, which the Romans had been to reap, and made six hundred prisoners. He afterwards attacked a small body of troops in the neighbourhood, of which he expected to make himself master

G 5

with

with little or no difficulty; but he found more resistance than had imagined. That small body was commanded by a brave officer, called L. Pompeius, who retiring to an eminent place defended himself there with intrepid courage, determined to die with his troops, rather than surrender. He was upon the point of being borne down by numbers, when the consul arrived to his assistance with a great detachment of horse and light-armed foot: the legions were ordered to follow him. The sight of the consul gave Pompeius and his troops new courage, who were eight hundred men, all Romans. Perseus immediately sent for his phalanx; but the consul did not wait its coming up, and came directly to blows. The Macedonians, after having made a very vigorous resistance for some time, were at last broke and put to the rout. The hundred foot were left upon the place, with twenty-four of the best horse, of the troop called the *Sacred Squadron*, which the commander himself, Antimachus, was killed.

The success of this action re-animated the Romans and very much alarmed Perseus. After having put a strong garrison into Gonna, he marched back his army into Macedonia.

The consul having reduced Perrhæbia, and taken Lari and some other cities, dismissed all the allies, except the Achæans; dispersed his troops in Thessaly, where he left them in winter quarters; and went into Bœotia, at the request of the Thebans, upon whom the people of Coronæa had made incursions.

SECT. III. *The senate pass a wise decree to put a stop to the arrogance of the generals and magistrates, who oppressed the allies. The consul MARCIUS, after sustaining great fatigues, enters Macedonia. PERSEUS takes the alarm and leaves the pass open: he resumes courage afterwards. Insolent embassy to the Rhodians to Rome.*

NOTHING memorable passed the following year. The consul Hostilius had sent Ap. Claudius into Illyria with 4000 foot, to defend such of the inhabitants of that country as were allies of the Romans; and the latter had found means to add eight thousand men, raised amongst the allies, to his first body of troops. He encamped at Lynidus, a city of the Dassaretæ. Near that place was another city, called Uscana, which belonged to Perseus, and where he had a great garrison. Claudius, upon the promise which

had been made him of having the place put into his hands, in hopes of making great booty, approached it, with almost all his troops, without any order, distrust, or precaution. Whilst he thought least of it, the garrison made a furious sally upon him, put his whole army to flight, and pursued them a great way with dreadful slaughter. Of 11,000 men, scarce 2000 escaped into the camp, which a thousand had been left to guard: Claudius returned to Lychnidus with the ruins of his army. The news of this loss very much afflicted the senate, and the more because it had been occasioned by the imprudence and avarice of Claudius.

This was (9) the almost universal disease of the commanders at that time. The senate received various complaints from many cities, as well of Greece as the other provinces, against the Roman officers, who treated them with unheard-of rapaciousness and cruelty. They punished some of them, redressed the wrongs they had done the cities, and dismissed the ambassadors well satisfied with the manner in which their remonstrances had been received. Soon after, to prevent such disorders for the future, they passed a decree, which expressed, that the cities should not furnish the Roman magistrates with any thing more than what the senate expressly appointed; which ordinance was published in all the cities of Peloponnesus.

C. Popilius and Cn. Octavius, who were charged with this commission, went first to Thebes, where they very much praised the citizens, and exhorted them to continue firm in their alliance with the Roman people. Proceeding afterwards to the other cities of Peloponnesus, they boasted every where of the lenity and moderation of the senate, which they proved by their late decree in favour of the Greeks. They found great divisions in almost all the cities, especially amongst the Ætolians, occasioned by two factions which divided them, one for the Romans, and the other for the Macedonians. The assembly of Achaia was not exempt from these divisions; but the wisdom of the persons of greatest authority prevented their consequences. The advice of Archon, one of the principal persons of the league, was to act according to conjunctures, to leave no room for calumny to irritate either of the contending powers against the republic, and to avoid the misfortunes into which those were fallen, who had not sufficiently comprehended the power of the Romans. This advice prevailed, and it was resolved,

G 6

that

that Archon should be made chief magistrate, and Poly captain general of the horse.

About this time Attalus having something to demand of Achæan league, caused the new magistrate to be found who, determinate in favour of the Romans and allies, promised that prince to support his suit with all power. The affair in question was, to have a decree repealed, by which it was ordained, that all the statues of Eumenes should be removed from the publick places. At the first council that was held, the ambassadors of Attalus were introduced to the assembly, who demanded, that consideration for the prince who sent them, Eumenes brother should be restored to the honours the republick formerly decreed him. Archon supported this demand, with great moderation. Polybius spoke with more freedom enlarged upon the merit and services of Eumenes, demonstrated the injustice of the first decree, and concluded, that it was proper to repeal it. The whole assembly applauded his discourse, and it was resolved that Eumenes should be restored to all his honours.

It was at this time Rome (*r*) sent Popilius to Antioch Epiphanes, to prevent his enterprizes against Egypt, which we have mentioned before.

The Macedonian war gave the Romans great employment. Q. Marcius Philippus, one of the two consuls lately elected, was charged with it.

Before he set out, Perseus had conceived the design of making the advantage of the winter to make an expedition against Illyria, which was the only province from which Macedonia had reason to fear irruptions during the king being employed against the Romans. This expedition succeeded very happily for him, and almost without any loss on his side. He began with the siege of Uscana, which had fallen into the hands of the Romans, it is not known how long it lasted, and took it, after a defence of some duration. He afterwards made himself master of all the strong places in that country, the most part of which had Roman garrisons in them, and took a great number of prisoners.

Perseus, at the same time, sent ambassadors to Gentius, king of the kings of Illyria, to induce him to quit the party of the Romans, and come over to him. Gentius was far from being averse to it; but he observed, that having no munitions of war nor money, he was in no condition to

(*r*) A. M. 3835. Ant. J. C. 169. Liv. l. xliii. c. 11, & 18.
b. Legat. lxxvi, lxxvii.

clare against the Romans; which was explaining himself sufficiently. Perseus, who was avaricious, did not understand, or rather affected not to understand, his demand; and sent a second embassy to him, without mention of money; and received the same answer. Polybius observes, that this fear of expences, which denotes a little mean soul, and entirely dishonours a prince, made many of his enterprizes miscarry, and that if he would have sacrificed certain sums, and those far from considerable, he might have engaged several republicks and princes in his party. Can such a blindness be conceived in a rational creature! Polybius considers it as a punishment from the gods.

Perseus having led back his troops into Macedonia, made them march afterwards to Stratus, a very strong city of Ætolia, above the gulph of Ambracia. The people had given him hopes, that they would surrender it as soon as he appeared before the walls; but the Romans prevented them, and threw succours into the place.

Early in the spring the consul Marcius left Rome, and went to Thessaly, from whence, without losing time, he advanced into Macedonia, fully assured, that it was necessary to attack Perseus in the heart of his dominions.

Upon the report (1) that the Roman army was ready to take the field, Archon, chief magistrate of the Achæans, to justify his country from the suspicions and bad reports that had been propagated against it, advised the Achæans to pass a decree, by which it should be ordained, that they should march an army into Thessaly, and share in all the dangers of the war with the Romans. That decree being confirmed, orders were given to Archon to raise troops, and to make all the necessary preparations. It was afterwards resolved, that ambassadors should be sent to the consul, to acquaint him with the resolution of the republick, and to know from him where and when the Achæan army should join him. Polybius, our historian, with some others, was charged with this embassy. They found the Romans had quitted Thessaly, and were encamped in Perrhæbia, between Azora and Dolichæa, greatly perplexed about the rout it was necessary to take. They followed them for a favourable opportunity of speaking to the consul, and shared with him all the dangers he ran in entering Macedonia.

Perseus (2), who did not know what rout the consul would take, had posted considerable bodies of troops in two places, by which it was probable he would attempt to pass. For himself,

(1) Polyb, Legat. lxx.

(2) Liv. l. xliv. n. 1—10.

himself, he encamped with the rest of his army near Dium marching and counter-marching without much design.

Marcus, after long deliberation, resolved to pass the ford that covered part of the country called Octolopha. He had incredible difficulties to surmount, the ways were so steep as impracticable, and had seized an eminence, by way of precaution, which favoured his passage. From hence the enemy's camp, which was not distant above a thousand paces and all the country about Dium and Phila might be discovered; which very much animated the soldiers, who had before their eyes opulent lands, where they hoped to enrich themselves. Hippias, whom the king had posted to defend this pass with a body of 12,000 men, seeing the eminence possessed by a detachment of the Romans, marched to meet the consul, who advanced with his whole army, harassed his troops for two days, and distressed them very much by frequent attacks. Marcus was in great trouble, not being able either to advance with safety, or retreat without shame or even danger. He had no other choice to make, but to pursue an undertaking with vigour, formed, perhaps, with too much boldness and temerity, and which could not succeed without a determinate perseverance, often crowned at the end with success. It is certain, that if the consul had had to do with the ancient kings of Macedonia in the narrow defile, where his troops were pent up, he would infallibly have received a great blow. But Perseus, instead of sending fresh troops to support Hippias, the cries of whose soldiers in battle he could hear in his camp, and of going in person to attack the enemy, amused himself with making useless excursions with his horse into the country about Dium, and in that neglect gave the Romans opportunity to extricate themselves from the bad affair in which they had embarked.

It was not without infinite pains they effected this; the horses laden with the baggage sinking under their loads, and the declivity of the mountain, and falling down at almost every step they took. The elephants especially gave the great trouble: it was necessary to find some new means for their descent in such extremely steep places. Having cleared the snow on these descents, they drove two beams into the earth at the lower part of the way, and the distance of something more than the breadth of an elephant from each other. Upon those beams they laid planks of thirty feet length, and formed a kind of bridge, which they covered with earth. At the end of the first bridge leaving some interval, they erected a second, then a third, and so on to as many of the same ki

as were necessary. The elephant passed from the firm ground to the bridge, and before he came to the end, they had contrived to lower the beams insensibly that supported it, and let him gently down with the bridge: he went on in that manner to the second, and all the rest. It is not easy to express the fatigues they underwent in this pass, the soldiers being often obliged to roll upon the ground, because it was impossible for them to keep their legs. It was agreed, that with an handful of men the enemy might have entirely defeated the Roman army. At length, after infinite difficulties and dangers, it arrived in a plain, and found itself out of danger.

As the consul (*u*) seemed then to have entirely overcome the greatest difficulty of his enterprize, Polybius thought this a proper time for presenting Marcus with the decree of the Achæans, and to assure him of their resolution to join him with all their forces, and to share with him in all the labours and dangers of this war: Marcus, after having thanked the Achæans for their good-will in the kindest terms, told them, they might spare themselves the trouble and expence that war would give them; that he would dispense with both; and that, in the present posture of affairs, he had no occasion for the aid of the allies. After this discourse, Polybius's colleagues returned into Achaia.

Polybius only continued in the Roman army till the consul, having received advice that Appius, surnamed Cento, had demanded of the Achæans a body of 5000 men to be sent him into Epirus, dispatched him home, with advice, not to suffer his republick to furnish those troops, or engage in expences entirely unnecessary, as Appius had no reason to demand that aid. It is difficult, says the historian, to discover the real motives that induced Marcus to talk in this manner. Was he for sparing the Achæans, or laying a snare for them; or did he intend to put it out of Appius's power to undertake any thing?

While the king was bathing, he was informed of the enemy's approach. That news alarmed him terribly. Uncertain what choice to make, and changing every moment his resolution, he cried out, and lamented his being conquered without fighting. He recalled the two officers, to whom he had confided the defence of the passes; sent * the

(*u*) Polyb. Legat. lxxviii.

* These were the statues of the horse-soldiers killed in passing the Granicus, which Alexander had caused to be made by Lyfippus, and to be set up in Dium.

gilt statues at Dium on board his fleet, lest they should into the hands of the Romans; gave orders that his treasure laid up at Pella, should be thrown into the sea, and all galleys at Thessalonica burnt. For himself, he returned Pydna.

The consul had brought the army to a place from where it was impossible to disengage himself without the enemy's permission. There was no passing for him, but by two fore by the one he might penetrate through the vallies of Ter into Thessaly, and by the other, beyond Dium, enter first into Macedonia; and both these important posts were possessed by strong garrisons for the king. So that if Perseus only staid ten days without taking flight, it had been impossible for the Romans to have entered Thessaly by Tempe, the consul would have had no pass for provisions to him. the ways through Tempe are bordered by such vast precipices that the eye could scarce sustain the view of them with dazzling. The king's troops guarded this pass at four several places, of which the last was so narrow, that ten men, armed, could alone have defended the entrance. The Romans therefore, not being able either to receive provisions the narrow passes of Tempe, nor to get through them, must have been obliged to regain the mountains, from where they came down, which was become impracticable, enemy having possessed themselves of the eminences. The only choice they had left, was to open their way through their enemies to Dium in Macedonia; which * would have been less difficult, if the gods, says Livy, had not deprived Perseus of prudence and counsel. For in making a fosse with trenchments in a very narrow defile, at the foot of mount Olympus, he would have absolutely shut them out, and left them short. But in the blindness, into which his fear threw the king, he neither saw, nor did, any thing of the means in his power to save himself, left all the passes of his kingdom open and unguarded, and took refuge at Pydna in precipitation.

The consul perceived aright, that he owed his safety to the king's timidity and imprudence. He ordered the prætor Lucretius, who was at Larissa, to seize the posts bordering upon Tempe, which Perseus had abandoned, to secure a retreat in case of accident; and sent Popilius to take a view of the passes in the way to Dium. When he was informed

* Quod nisi dii mentem regi ademisissent, ipsum ingentis difficultatis erat. Liv.

ays were open and unguarded, he marched thither in
ays, and encamped his army near the temple of Jupiter,
neighbourhood, to prevent its being plundered. Hav-
entered the city, which was full of magnificent buildings,
vell fortified, he was exceedingly surprized, that the
had abandoned it so easily. He continued his march,
made himself master of several places, almost without any
nce. But the farther he advanced, the less provisions he
, and the more the dearth increased; which obliged him
urn to Dium. He was also reduced to quit that city, and
to Phila, where the prætor Lucretius had informed him
ight find provisions in abundance. His quitting Dium
sted to Perseus, that it was now time to recover by his
ge, what he had lost by his fear. He repossest him-
erefore of that city, and soon repaired its ruins. Popi-
on his side, besieged and took Heraclea, which was
a quarter of a league distant from Phila.

seus, having recovered his fright, and resumed spirit,
I have been very glad that his orders to throw his trea-
at Pella into the sea, and burn all his ships at Thessalo-
had not been executed. Andronicus, to whom he had
the latter order, had delayed obeying it, to give time
e repentance which might soon follow that command, as
d it happened. Nicias, less aware, had thrown all the
y he found at Pella into the sea. But his fault was soon
red by divers, who brought up almost the whole money
the bottom of the sea. To reward their services, the
caused them all to be put to death secretly, as he did An-
cus and Nicias; so much was he ashamed of the abject
to which he had abandoned himself, that he could not
to have any witnesses or traces of it in being.

veral expeditions passed on both sides by sea and
which were neither of much consequence or impor-

hen Polybius (*) returned from his embassy into Pelo-
esus, Appius's letter, in which he demanded five thou-
men, had been received there. Some time after the
cil, assembled at Sicyon to deliberate upon that affair,
Polybius great perplexity. Not to execute the order he
red from Marcus, had been an inexcusable fault. On
ther side, it was dangerous to refuse the Romans the
they might have occasion for, of which the Achæans
in no want. To extricate themselves in so delicate a
mixture, they had recourse to the decree of the Roman

senate

(*) Polyb. Legat. lxxviii.

senate, that prohibited their having any regard to the letters of the generals, unless an order of the senate was annexed to them, which Appius had not sent with his. It was his opinion, therefore, that before any thing was sent to Appius, it was necessary to inform the consul of his demand, and to wait for his decision upon it. By that means Polybius saved the Achæans the sum of an hundred and twenty thousand crowns at least.

In the mean time (y) arrived ambassadors at Rome, from Prusias, king of Bithynia, and also from the Rhodians, in favour of Perseus. The former expressed themselves very modestly, declaring that Prusias had constantly adhered to the Roman party, and should continue to do so during the war; but that having promised Perseus to employ his good offices for him with the Romans, in order to obtain a peace, he desired, if it were possible, that they would grant him that favour, and make such use of his mediation as they should think convenient. The language of the Rhodians were very different. After having set forth, in a lofty style, the services they had done the Roman people, and ascribed to themselves the greatest share in the victories they had obtained, and especially in that over Antiochus, they added: That whilst the peace subsisted between the Macedonians and Romans, they had negotiated a treaty of alliance with Perseus; that they had suspended it against their will, and without any subject of complaint on the king's part, because it had pleased the Romans to engage them on their side; that for three years, which this war had continued, they had suffered many inconveniencies from it; that their trade by sea being interrupted, the island found itself in great straits, from the reduction of its revenues, and other advantages arising from commerce; that being no longer able to support such considerable losses, they had sent ambassadors into Macedonia to King Perseus to inform him that the Rhodians thought it necessary that he should make peace with the Romans, and that they were also sent to Rome to make the same declaration; that if either of the parties refused to come into so reasonable a proposal, the Rhodians should know what they had to do.

It is easy to judge in what manner so vain and presumptuous a discourse was received. Some historians tell us, all the answer that was given to it was, to order a decree of the senate, whereby the Carians and Lycians were declared free, to be read in their presence. This was touching them to the quick, and mortifying them in the most sensible part; for they

they pretended to an authority over both those people. Others say, the senate answered in few words; that the disposition of the Rhodians, and their secret intrigues with Perseus, had been long known at Rome. That when the Roman people should have conquered him, of which they expected advice every day, they should know in their turn what they had to do, and should then treat their allies according to their respective merits. They made the ambassadors, however, the usual presents.

The consul Q. Marcius's letter was then read, in which he gave an account of the manner he had entered Macedonia, after having suffered incredible difficulties in passing a very narrow defile. He added, that by the wise precaution of the prætor, he had sufficient provisions for the winter; having received from the Epirots twenty thousand measures of wheat, and ten thousand of barley, for which it was necessary to pay their ambassadors then at Rome: that it was also necessary to send him clothes for the soldiers; that he wanted two hundred horses, especially from Numidia, because there were none of that kind in the country where he was. All these articles were exactly and immediately executed.

After this they gave audience to Onesimas, a Macedonian nobleman. He had always advised the king to observe the peace; and putting him in mind that his father Philip, to the last day of his life, had caused his treaty with the Romans to be constantly read to him twice every day, he had admonished him to do as much, if not with the same regularity, at least from time to time. Not being able to dissuade him from the war, he had begun by withdrawing himself from his councils, under different pretexts, that he might not be witness to the resolutions taken in them, which he could not approve. At length, seeing himself become suspected, and tacitly considered as a traitor, he had taken refuge amongst the Romans, and had been of great service to the consul. Having made this relation to the senate, they gave him a very favourable reception, and provided magnificently for his subsistence.

SECT. IV. PAULUS ÆMILIUS chosen consul. He sets out for Macedonia with the prætor CN. OCTAVIUS, who commanded the fleet. PERSEUS solicits aid on all sides. His avarice loses him considerable allies. The prætor ANICIUS's victories in Illyria. PAULUS ÆMILIUS's celebrated victory over PERSEUS, near the city of Pydna. PERSEUS taken with

with all his children. The command of PAULUS ÆMILIUS in Macedonia prolonged. Decree of the senate, grant liberty to the Macedonians and Illyrians. PAULUS ÆMILIUS, during the winter-quarters, visits the most celebrated cities of Greece. Upon his return to Amphipolis, he gives a great feast. He marches for Rome. On his way he suffers his army to plunder all the cities of Epirus. He enters Rome in triumph. Death of PERSEUS. CN. OCTAVIUS and L. ANICIUS have also the honour of a triumph decreed them.

THE time for the comitia (x), or assemblies, to elect consuls at Rome, approaching, all the world was anxious to know upon whom so important a choice would fall, and nothing else was talked of in all conversation. They were not satisfied with the consuls, who had been employed for three years against Perseus, and had very ill sustained the honour of the Roman name. They called to mind the famous victories formerly obtained against his father Philip, who had been obliged to sue for peace; against Antiochus, who was driven beyond mount Taurus, and forced to pay a great tribute; and what was still more considerable against Hannibal, the greatest general that had ever appeared as their enemy, or perhaps in the world, whom they had induced to quit Italy, after a war of more than sixteen years continuance, and conquered in his own country, almost under the very walls of Carthage. The formidable preparations of Perseus, and some advantages gained by him in former campaigns, augmented the apprehension of the Romans. They plainly distinguished, that it was no time to confer the command of the armies by faction or favour; that it was necessary to chuse a general for his wisdom, valour and experience, in a word, one capable of presiding in so important a war as that now upon their hands.

All the world cast their eyes upon Paulus Æmilius. These are times when distinguished merit unites the voices of the publick; and nothing is more affecting than such a judgment, founded upon the knowledge of a man's past services, the army's opinion of his capacity, and the state's present occasion for his valour and conduct. Paulus Æmilius was near sixty years old; but age, without impairing his faculties in the least, had rather improved them with maturity, wisdom and judgment; more necessary in a general than valour and bravery. He had been consul thirteen years.

(x) A. M. 3836. Ant. J. C. 168. Liv. l. xlii. n. 17. Plut. in Æmil. p. 259, 260.

and had acquired the general esteem during his administration. But the people repaid his services with ingratitude, refused to raise him again to the same dignity, though solicited it with sufficient ardour. For several years he led a private and retired life, solely employed in the education of his children, in which no father ever succeeded, nor was more gloriously rewarded for his care. All actions, all his friends, made instances to him to comply with the people's wishes, in taking upon him the consulship; but believing himself no longer capable, of command, he avoided appearing in publick, kept himself at home, shunned honours with as much solicitude as others generally pursue them. However, when he saw the people assembled every morning in crowds before his door; that they pressed him to the forum, and exclaimed highly against his obstinate refusal to serve his country, he gave in at length to their remonstrances, and appearing amongst those who aspired to that dignity, he seemed less to receive the command of the army, than to give the people the assurance of an approaching and complete victory. The consulship was conferred upon him unanimously, and, according to the wish, the command of the army in Macedonia decreed to him in preference to his colleague, though Livy says it fell upon him by lot.

As he said, that the day he was elected general in the war against Perseus, at his return home, attended by all the people who followed to do him honour, he found his daughter Tertia, at that time a little infant, who on seeing him fell weeping bitterly. He embraced, and asked her the cause of her tears. Tertia hugging him with her little arms, *You do now then,* said she, *that our Perseus is dead, pappa.* She then showed her a little dog she had brought up, called *Perseus*. *It is a very good time, my dear child,* said Paulus Æmilius, *to accept this omen with joy.* The ancient carried their superstition upon this kind of fortuitous instances very high.

In the manner (a) in which Paulus Æmilius prepared for the war, he was charged with, gave room to judge of the success expected from it. He demanded, first, that commissioners should be sent into Macedonia to inspect the army and to make their report, after an exact enquiry, of the number of troops which were necessary to be added both by sea and land. They were also to inform themselves, as near as possible, of the number of the king's forces.

(a) Liv. l. xliv. n. 18—22. Plut. in P.

and the Romans actually lay; if the latter were actually camped in the forests, or had entirely passed them, and arrived in the plain; upon which of the allies they might with certainty; which of them were dubious and wavering and who they might regard as declared enemies; for how time they had provisions, and from whence they might be supplied with them either by land or water; what had happened during the last campaign, either in the army by land, or the fleet. As an able and experienced general, he thought it necessary to be fully apprized in all these circumstances, convinced that the plan of the campaign, upon which he was about to enter, could not be formed, nor its operations concerted, without a perfect knowledge of them. The king approved these wise measures very much, and appointed commissioners, with the approbation of Paulus Æmilius, to set out two days after.

During their absence, audience was given to the ambassadors from Ptolemy and Cleopatra, king and queen of Egypt, who brought complaints to Rome of the unjust prizes of Antiochus, king of Syria; which have before related.

The commissioners had made good use of their time. Upon their return they reported, that Marcius had found the passes of Macedonia, to get entrance into the country, but with more danger than utility: that the king had advanced into Pieria, and in actual possession of it: that the two camps were very near each other, being separated by the river Enipeus; that the king avoided a battle, that the Roman army was neither in a condition to oblige him to fight, nor to force his lines: that, to the other inconveniences, a very severe winter had happened, from which the king could not but suffer exceedingly in a mountainous country, and be entirely prevented from acting; and that he had only provisions for six days: that the army of the Macedonians was supposed to amount to thirty thousand men: that if Appius Claudius had been sufficiently strong in the neighbourhood of Lychnidus in Illyria, he might have acted with good effect against king Gentius; but that Claudius and his troops were actually in great danger; unless a considerable reinforcement were immediately sent him, or he ordered directly to quit the post he was in. That after having visited the camp, they had repaired to the fleet: that they had told, that part of the crews were dead of diseases; that the rest of the allies, especially those of Sicily, were returning home; and that the fleet was entirely in want of seamen.

: that those who remained, had not received their
 and had no clothes: that Eumenes and his fleet, after
 just shewn themselves, disappeared immediately,
 : any visible cause; and that it seemed his in-
 ons neither could nor ought to be relied on: but,
 for his brother Attalus, his good-will was not to be
 l.

n this report of the commissioners, after Paulus Æmi-
 l given his opinion, the senate decreed, that he should
 ward without loss of time for Macedonia, with the
 Cn. Octavius, who had the command of the fleet,
 Anicius, another prætor, who was to succeed Ap-
 as in his post near Lychnidus in Illyria. The number
 ps each of them was to command, was regulated in the
 ng manner.

troops of which the army of Paulus Æmilius consti-
 tuted to twenty-five thousand eight hundred men;
 of two Roman legions, each composed of six thou-
 sand and three hundred horse; as many of the infantry
 Italian allies, and twice the number of horse. He had
 six hundred horse raised in Gallia Cisalpina, and some
 ry troops from the allies of Greece and Asia. The
 in all probability, did not amount to thirty thousand
 The prætor Anicius had also two legions; but they
 d of only 5000 foot, and 300 horse each; which, with
 of the Italian allies, and 800 horse, composed the
 under him of 21,200 men. The troops that served on
 the fleet, were 5000 men. These three bodies toge-
 made 56,200 men.

he war which they were preparing to make this year in
 onia, seemed of the last consequence, all precautions
 taken that might conduce to the success of it. The con-
 people had the choice of the tribunes who were to serve
 and commanded each in his turn an entire legion. It
 decreed, that none should be elected into this em-
 ent, but such as had already served, and Paulus
 as was left at liberty to chuse out of all the tribunes
 he approved for his army: he had twelve for the two

just be allowed the Romans acted with great wisdom
 his occasion. They had, as we have seen, unanimously
 consul and general, the person amongst them who was
 itably the greatest captain of his time. They had re-
 that no officers should be raised to the post of tribune,
 ch. as were distinguished by their merit, experience,

and

and capacity instanced in real service; advantages that are not always the effect of birth or seniority; to which, indeed, the Romans paid little or no regard. They did more; by a particular exception, compatible with republican government, Paulus Æmilius was left at entire liberty to chuse such of the tribunes as he thought fit, well knowing the great importance of a perfect union between the general and the officers who serve under him, in order to the exact and punctual execution of the commands of the former, who is in a manner the soul of the army, and ought to direct all its motions, which cannot be done without the best understanding between them, founded in a passion for the publick good, with which neither interest, jealousy, nor ambition, are capable of interfering.

After all these regulations were made, the consul Paulus Æmilius repaired from the senate to the assembly of the people, to whom he spoke in this manner. "You seem to me, Romans, to have expressed more joy when Macedonia fell to my lot, than when I was elected consul, or entered upon that office; and to me your joy seemed to be occasioned by the hopes you conceived, that I should put an end, worthy of the grandeur and reputation of the Roman people, to a war, which, in your opinion, has already been of too long continuance. I have reason to believe, that the same gods *, who have occasioned Macedonia to fall to my lot, will also assist me with their protection in conducting and terminating this war successfully: but of this I may venture to assure you, that I shall do my utmost not to fall short of your expectations. The senate has wisely regulated every thing necessary in the expedition I am charged with; and, as I am ordered to set out immediately, I shall make no delay, and know that my colleague C. Licinius, out of his great zeal for the publick service, will raise and march off the troops appointed for me, with as much ardour and expedition, as if they were for himself. I shall take care to remit to you, as well as to the senate, an exact account of all that passes; and you may rely upon the certainty and truth of my letters; but I beg of you, a great favour, that you will not give credit to, or lay any weight out of credulity upon the light reports, which are frequently spread abroad without any author. I perceive well, that in this war, more than any other, whatever resolution people may form to obviate these rumours, the

* It was a received opinion of all ages and nations, that the divinity presided over chance.

" will not fail to make impression, and inspire I know not
 " what discouragement. There are those, who in company,
 " and even at table, command armies, make dispositions,
 " and prescribe all the operations of the campaign. They
 " know better than we where we should encamp, and what
 " posts it is necessary for us to seize; at what time, and by
 " what defile we ought to enter Macedonia; where it is pro-
 " per to have magazines; from whence, either by sea or
 " land, we are to bring provisions; when we are to fight the
 " enemy, and when lie still. They not only prescribe what
 " is best to do, but for deviating ever so little from their
 " plans, they make it a crime in their consul, and cite him
 " before their tribunal. But know, Romans, this is of very
 " bad effect with your generals. All have not the resolution
 " and constancy of Fabius, to despise impertinent reports.
 " He could chuse rather to suffer the people upon such un-
 " happy rumours to invade his authority, than to ruin affairs
 " in order to preserve their opinion, and an empty name.
 " I am far from believing, that generals stand in no need of
 " advice: I think, on the contrary, that whoever would
 " conduct every thing alone, upon his own opinion, and
 " without counsel, shews more presumption than prudence.
 " But some may ask, how then shall we act reasonably? In
 " not suffering any persons to obtrude their advice upon your
 " generals, but such as are, in the first place, versed in the
 " art of war, and have learnt from experience what it is to
 " command; and, in the second, who are upon the spot,
 " who know the enemy, are witnesses in person to all that
 " passes, and sharers with us in all dangers. If there be any
 " one who conceives himself capable of assisting me with his
 " counsels in the war you have charged me with, let him not
 " refuse to do the republick that service, but let him go with
 " me into Macedonia; ships, horses, tents, provisions, shall
 " all be supplied him at my charge. But if he will not take
 " so much trouble, and prefers the tranquillity of the city to
 " the dangers and fatigues of the field, let him not take
 " upon him to hold the helm, and continue idle in the
 " port. The city of itself supplies sufficient matter of
 " discourse on other subjects; but as for these, let it be
 " silent upon them; and know, that we shall pay no regard
 " to any counsels, but such as shall be given us in the camp
 " itself."

This discourse of Paulus Æmilius, which abounds with
 reason and good sense, shews that men are the same in all ages
 of the world. People have an incredible itch for examining,
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criticising, and condemning the conduct of generals, and do not observe, that doing so is a manifest contradiction to reason and justice: to reason; for what can be more absurd and ridiculous, than to see persons, without any knowledge or experience in war, set themselves up for censors of the most able generals, and pronounce with a magisterial air upon their actions? To justice; for the most experienced can make no certain judgment without being upon the spot: the least circumstance of time, place, disposition of the troops, secret orders not divulged, being capable of making an absolute change in the general rules of conduct. But we must not expect to see a failing reformed, that has its source in the curiosity and vanity of human nature; and generals would do wisely, after the example of Paulus Æmilius, to despise these city-reports, and crude opinions of idle people, who have nothing else to do, and have generally as little judgment as business.

Paulus Æmilius (*b*), after having discharged, according to custom, the duties of religion, set out for Macedonia, with the prætor Cn. Octavius, to whom the command of the fleet had been allotted.

Whilst they were employed in making preparations for the war at Rome, Perseus, on his side, had not been asleep. The fear of the approaching danger which threatened him having at length got the better of his avarice, he agreed to give Gentius, king of Illyria, three hundred talents in money (that is, three hundred thousand crowns) and purchased his alliance at that price.

He sent ambassadors at the same time to Rhodes, convinced, that if that island, very powerful at that time by its situation, should embrace his party, Rome would be very much embarrassed. He sent deputies also to Eumenes and Antiochus, two very potent kings, and capable of giving him great aid. Perseus did wisely in having recourse to these measures, and endeavouring to strengthen himself by such supports; but he entered upon them too late. He ought to have begun taking those steps, and to have made them the first foundations of his enterprize. He did not think of putting the remote powers in motion, till he was reduced almost to extremity, and his affairs next to absolutely desperate. It was rather calling in spectators and associates of his ruin, than aids and supports. The instructions which he gave his ambassadors were very solid and persuasive, as we are about to see.

(*b*) Liv. l. xliv. n. 23—29. Polyb. Legat. lxxv—lxxvii. Plut. Paul. Æmil. p. 260, 261.

but he should have made use of them three years sooner; have waited their event, before he embarked, almost as, in the war against so powerful a people, with so many resources in case of misfortune.

The ambassadors had the same instructions for both those kings. They represented to them, that there was a natural enmity between republicks and monarchies. That the Romans had attacked the kings one after another, and what was extremely to the indignity, that they employed the resources of the kings themselves to ruin them one after another. That they had crushed his father by the assistance of Attalus; that by the aid of Eumenes, and, in some measure, by that of his father Philip, Antiochus had been subjected, and that to resent they had armed Eumenes and Prusias against him.

That after the kingdom of Macedonia should be destroyed, Asia would be the next to experience the same fate; of which they had already usurped a part, under the specious pretext of re-establishing the cities in their ancient liberty; and Syria's turn would soon follow. That they had already begun to prefer Prusias to Eumenes by particular distinctions of honour, and had deprived Antiochus of the fruits of his victories in Egypt. Perseus requested of them, either to induce the Romans to give Macedonia peace; or, if they persisted in the unjust design of continuing the war, to regard him as the common enemy of all kings. The ambassadors treated with Antiochus openly, and without any reserve.

As to Eumenes, they covered their voyage with the pretext of ransoming prisoners, and treated only in secret upon the real cause of it. There had passed already several conferences, at different times and places, upon the same subject, which had begun to render that prince very much suspected by the Romans. It was not because Eumenes desired at bottom,

Perseus should be victorious against the Romans; the more power he would then have had, would have given him umbrage, and highly alarmed his jealousy; neither was he more willing to declare openly against, or to make war upon him. But, in hopes to see the two parties equally inclined to peace; Perseus, from his fear of the misfortunes which might befall him; the Romans, from being weary of a war out to too great a length; he desired to become the mediator of a peace between them and to make Perseus purchase his mediation, or at least his inaction and neutrality, at a high price. That was already agreed upon, and was fifty hundred talents (fifteen hundred thousand crowns.)

The only difference that remained, was in settling the time for the payment of that sum. Perseus was for waiting till service took effect, and in the mean time offered to deposit his money in Samothracia. Eumenes did not believe himself cured in that, because Samothracia depended on Perseus, therefore he insisted upon immediate payment of part of his money. This broke up the treaty.

He failed likewise in another negotiation, which might have been no less in his favour. He had caused a body of Gauls to come from the other side of the Danube, consisting of a thousand horse and as many foot, and had agreed to give pieces of gold to each horseman, five to the infantry, an thousand to their captains. I have observed above, that the Gauls had taken the name of Bastarnæ. When he received advice that they were arrived upon the frontiers of his dominions, he went to meet them with half his troops, and gave orders, that in towns and villages, through which they were to pass, great quantities of corn, wine, and cattle, should be provided for them; he had presents for their principal officers of horses, arms, and habits; to these he added some money which was to be distributed amongst a small number; he was gined to gain the multitude by this bait. The king had near the river Axios, where he encamped with his troops. He deputed Antigonus, one of the Macedonian lords, to the Gauls, who were about thirty leagues distant from him. Antigonus was astonished when he saw men of prodigious stature, skilful in all the exercises of the body, and in handling their arms; and haughty and audacious in their language, who abounded with menaces and bravadoes. He set off, in the best terms the orders his master had given for their good reception wherever they passed, and the presents he had prepared for them; after which he invited them to advance to a certain place he mentioned, and to send their principal officers to the king. The Gauls were not a people to be paid with words. Clondicus, the general and king of these strangers, came directly to the point; and asked, whether he had brought the sum agreed on. As no answer was given to that question, Go, said he, *and let your prince know, that till he sends the stages and sums agreed on, the Gauls will not stir from here.* The king, upon the return of his deputy, assembled his council. He foresaw what they would advise; but as he was a much better guardian of his money than of his kingdom, to disguise his avarice, he enlarged a great deal upon the peril and ferocity of the Gauls; adding, that it would be dangerous to give such numbers of them entrance into Macedonia.

from which every thing was to be feared, and that five thousand horse would suffice for him. Every body perceived that his sole apprehension was for his money; but nobody dared to contradict him: Antigonus returned to the Gauls, and told them his master had occasion for no more than five thousand horse. Upon which they raised an universal cry and murmur against Perseus, who had made them come so far to insult them so grossly. Clondicus having asked Antigonus again, whether he had brought the money for the five thousand horse; as the deputy sought evasions, and gave no direct answers, the Gauls grew furious, and were just going to cut him in pieces, as he violently apprehended. However, they had no regard to his quality of deputy, and dismissed him without any ill treatment to his person. The Gauls marched away immediately, resumed their rout to the Danube, and plundered Thrace in their way home.

Perseus, with so considerable a reinforcement, might have given the Romans great trouble. He could have detached those Gauls into Thessaly, where they might have plundered the country, and taken the strongest places. By that means, remaining quiet about the river Enipeus, he might have put it out of the power of the Romans either to have penetrated into Macedonia, of which he might have barred the entrance with his troops, or to have subsisted any longer in the country, because they could have brought no provisions as before from Thessaly, which would have been entirely laid waste. The avarice, by which he was governed, prevented his making any use of so great an advantage.

The same vice made him lose another of the same nature. Urged by the condition of his affairs, and the extreme danger that threatened him, he had at length consented to give Gentius the three hundred talents he had demanded above a year, for raising troops, and fitting out a fleet. Pantauchus had negotiated this treaty for the king of Macedonia, and had begun by paying the king of Illyria ten talents (ten thousand crowns) in part of the sum promised him. Gentius dispatched his ambassadors, and with them persons he could confide in, to receive the money. He directed them also, when all should be concluded, to join Perseus's ambassadors, and to go with them to Rhodes, in order to bring that republick into an alliance with them. Pantauchus had represented to him, that if the Rhodians came into it, Rome would not be able to make head against the three powers united. Perseus received those ambassadors with all possible marks of distinction. After the exchange of hostages, and the taking of oaths on

both sides, it only remained to deliver the 300 talents. ambassadors and agents of the Illyrian repaired to Pella, and the money was told down to them, and put into chests, the seal of the ambassadors, to be conveyed into Illyria. Perseus had given orders underhand to the persons charged with this convoy to march slowly, and by small journeys when they arrived upon the frontiers of Macedonia, to wait for his farther orders. During all this time, Pantauchus who had remained at the court of Illyria, made pressurings to the king to declare against the Romans by son of hostility. In the mean while arrived ambassadors from the Romans, to negotiate an alliance with Gentius. He already received ten talents by way of earnest, and so that the whole sum was upon the road. Upon the representations of Pentauchus, in violation of all rights human and divine, he caused the two ambassadors to be imprisoned under pretence that they were spies. As soon as Perseus received this news, believing himself sufficiently and trievably engaged against the Romans by so glaring an act, he recalled those who carried the 300 talents; congratulated himself in secret upon the good success of his perfidy, and great dexterity in saving his money. But he did not see that he only kept it in reserve for the victor; whereas he ought have employed it in defending himself against him, and to conquer him, according to the maxim of Philip and his Alexander, the most illustrious of his predecessors, who to say, *That victory should be purchased with money, and money saved at the expence of victory.*

The ambassadors of Perseus and Gentius met with a favorable reception at Rhodes. A decree was imparted to them which the republick had resolved to employ all their credit and power to oblige the two parties to make peace, and to declare against that which should refuse to accept proposals for an accommodation.

The Roman generals had each of them repaired to their posts in the beginning of the spring; the consul to Macedonia, Octavius to Orea with the fleet, and Anicius into Illyria.

The success of the last was as rapid as fortunate. He began to carry on the war against Gentius; and put an end to it before it was known at Rome that it was begun. Its duration was only of thirty days. Having treated Scorda, the chief city of the country, which had surrendered to him, with moderation, the other cities soon followed its example. Gentius himself was reduced to come, and throw himself at the feet of Anicius to implore his mercy; confessing, with tears in

his fault, or rather folly, in having abandoned the party of the Romans. The prætor treated him with humanity. His first care was to take the two ambassadors out of prison. He sent one of them, named Perpenna, to Rome, to carry the news of his victory, and some days after caused Gentius to be conducted thither, with his wife, children, brother, and principal lords of the country. The sight of such illustrious prisoners very much augmented the people's joy. Public thanksgivings were made to the gods, and the temples were filled with a vast concourse of persons of all sexes and

When Paulus Æmilius approached the enemy, he found them encamped near the sea, at the foot of the mountain Tiberinus, in places which seemed inaccessible. He had the Tiber in front, whose banks were very high; and on the side where he lay he had thrown up good intrenchments, with a great space, on which were placed balistæ, and other machines for discharging darts and stones upon the enemy, if they ventured to approach. Perseus had fortified himself in such a manner, as made him believe himself very secure, and gave him hopes to weaken, and at last reject, Paulus Æmilius by length of time, and the difficulties he would find to subsist his troops, and maintain his ground, the country already eaten up by the enemy.

He did not know what kind of adversary he had to cope with. Paulus Æmilius employed his thoughts solely in preparing every thing for action, and was continually meditating expedients and measures for executing some enterprize with success. He began by establishing an exact and severe discipline in his army, which he found corrupted by the license which it had been suffered to live. He reformed several abuses, as well with regard to the arms of the troops, as the duty of centinels. It had been a custom amongst the soldiers to criticise upon their general, to examine all his actions amongst themselves, to prescribe him conduct, and to explain to him what he should or should not do. He spoke to them of resolution and dignity. He gave them to understand, that such discourses did not become a soldier; that he ought to be only three things his business; the care of his body, in order to render it robust and active; that of his arms, to keep them always clean and in good condition; and of his preparations, that he might be always in a readiness to march upon the first notice; that for the rest, he ought to rely upon the goodness of the immortal gods, and the vigilance of his general.

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* The Roman soldiers sometimes carried provisions for ten or twelve days.

ral. That for himself, he should omit nothing that necessary to give them occasion to evidence their valour that they had only to take care to do their duty well, the signal was given them.

It is incredible how much they were animated by this course. The old soldiers declared, that they had never done their duty aright till that day. A surprizing change was immediately observed in the camp. Nobody was idle in it. Soldiers were seen sharpening their swords, polishing helmets, cuirasses, and shields; practising an active exercise under their arms; whirling their javelins, and brandishing their naked swords; in short, forming and inuring themselves in all military exercises; so that it was easy to foresee upon the first opportunity they should have of coming to fight with the enemy, they were determined to conquer or die.

The camp was situated very commodiously, but very near water, which was a great inconvenience to the army. Æmilius, whose thoughts extended to every thing, mounted Olympus before him very high, and covered all round with trees extremely green and flourishing, judged, from the quantity and quality of those trees, that there must be springs of water in the caverns of the mountain, and at the same time ordered openings to be made at the foot of it, and pits dug in the sand. The surface was scarce broke up, and springs of water were seen to run, muddy at first, and in great quantities, but in a little while very clear, and in great abundance. This event, though natural, was looked upon by the soldiers as a singular favour of the gods, who had taken Æmilius under their protection; and made him more beloved and respected by them than before.

When Perseus saw what passed in the Roman camp, and the behaviour of the soldiers, their active behaviour, and the variety of exercises by which they prepared themselves for combat, he began to be greatly disquieted, and perceived plainly he had no longer to deal with a Licinius and Hostilius Marcius; and that the Roman army was entirely altered under the general. He redoubled his attention and application to his side, animated his soldiers, employed himself in following them by different exercises, added new works to the old, and used all means to put his camp out of danger of insult.

* Vix deducta summa arena erat, cum festuriginis turbidæ primo & tenuis emicare, dein liquida multatamque fundere aquam, velut dæm dono, cæperunt. Aliquantum quoque res duci famæ & ausus apud milites adiecit. Liv.

he mean time came the news of the victory in Illyria, the taking of the king with all his family. This caused a great joy in the Roman army, and excited amongst them an inexpressible ardour to signalize themselves also on the same day. For it is common, when two armies act in different quarters, for the one to be unwilling to give place to the other, in valour or glory. Perseus endeavoured at first to suppress his news; but his care to dissemble it only served to make it more public and certain. The alarm was general in his troops, who apprehended the same fate.

At this time arrived the Rhodian ambassadors, who came to propose the same proposals to the army in regard to the peace, which Rome had so highly offended the senate. It is easy to see in what manner they were received in the camp. Some, in the height of their anger, were for having them dismissed without a reply. The consul thought, the best way to express his contempt for them was to reply coldly, that he would give them an answer in fifteen days.

Perseus how little he made of the pacific mediation of the Romans, he assembled his council to deliberate upon the possibility of entering upon action. It is probable, that the Romans, which the year before had penetrated into Macedonia, had quitted it, and returned into Thessaly; perhaps for want of provisions; for at present they consulted measures for opening a passage into Macedonia. Some, amongst the oldest officers, were for attempting to force the Roman entrenchments upon the banks of the Enipeus. They thought, that the Macedonians, who the year before had been driven from higher and better fortified places, could not stand the charge of the Roman legions. Others were of opinion, that Octavius with the fleet should go to Thessalonica and attack the sea-coasts, in order to oblige the king, by diversion, to detach part of his troops from the Enipeus for the defence of his country, and thereby leave the river open. It is highly important for an able and experienced general to have it in his power to chuse what measures please. Paulus Æmilius had quite different views. He thought, that the Enipeus, as well from its natural situation, as from the fortifications which had been added to it, was inaccessible. He knew besides, without mentioning the machines, that the enemy's troops were much more numerous than his own in discharging javelins and darts. To attempt the forcing of such impenetrable lines as those were, was to expose his troops to inevitable slaughter; and a general spares the blood of his soldiers, because he looks

upon himself as their father, and believes it his duty serve them as his children. He kept quiet therefore 8 days, without making the least motion. Plutarch says it was believed there never was an example of two armies numerous, that lay so long in the presence of each other in such profound peace, and in so perfect a tranquillity. At other times the soldiers would have murmured out of idleness and impatience; but Paulus Æmilius had taught them to find quietness in the conduct of their leader.

At length, after diligent enquiry, and using all means for information, he was told by two Perrhæbian merchants of great prudence and fidelity he had experienced, that there was a way through Perrhæbia, which led to Pythium, a town upon the brow of mount * Olympus: that this way was of difficult access, but was well guarded. Perseus had sent thither a detachment of 5000 men. He conceived, by causing this post to be attacked in the night, and at unguarded by good troops, the enemy might be beat out, and possession of it. It was necessary, therefore, to attack the enemy, and to conceal his real design. He sent for the Octavius, and having opened himself to him, he ordered him to go with his fleet to Heraclea, and to take ten divisions with him for 1000 men; in order to make it be believed, that he was going to ravage the sea-coasts. At the same time he made his son Fabius Maximus, then very young, go with Scipio Nasica, the son-in-law of Scipio Africanus: he gave them a detachment of 5000 chosen troops, and ordered them to march by the sea-side towards Heraclea, where they were to embark there, according to what had been proposed in the council. When they arrived there, he told them the consul's orders. As soon as it was night, turning their rout by the coast, they advanced, without guides, towards Pythium, over the mountains and rocks, accompanied by the two Perrhæbian guides. It had been concluded they should arrive there the third day before it was light.

In the mean time Paulus Æmilius, to amuse the enemy and prevent his having any other thoughts, the next morning detached his light-armed troops, as if he intended to attack the Macedonians. They came to a slight ford in the course of the river itself, which was the lowest. The banks on each side, from the top to the bottom of the river, had a declivity of 300 paces, and the stream was very narrow and deep. The action passed in the sight of the king.

* The perpendicular height of the mountain Olympus, where Pythium was situated, was upwards of 10000 fathoms, or half a league.

al, who were each with his troops in the front of their
 is. The consul caused the retreat to be sounded towards
 . The loss was almost equal on both sides. The next
 he battle was renewed in the same manner, and almost at
 ame hour; but it was warmer, and continued longer.
 Romans had not only those upon their hands with whom
 fought; the enemy, from the tops of the towers upon
 banks, poured clouds of darts and stones upon them. The
 al lost abundance more of his people this day, and made
 retire late. The third day Paulus Æmilius lay still,
 seemed to design to attempt a passage near the sea. Per-
 did not suspect in the least the danger that threatened

Scipio arrived in the night of the third day near Pythium.
 troops were very much fatigued, for which reason he made
 rest themselves the remainder of the night. Perseus in
 mean time was very quiet. But on a sudden a Cretan de-
 r, who had gone off from Scipio's troops, roused him
 his security, by letting him know the compass the Ro-
 had taken to surprize him. The king, terrified with
 news, detached immediately 10,000 foreign soldiers, with
 Macedonians, under the command of Milo, and or-
 d them with all possible diligence to take possession of an
 ence which the Romans had still to pass, before they ar-
 at Pythium. He accordingly got thither before them.

ry rude engagement ensued upon this eminence, and the-
 ry was for some time in suspense. But the king's detach-
 at length gave way on all sides, and were put to the

Scipio pursued them vigorously, and led his victorious
 into the plain.

hen those who fled came to the camp of Perseus, they
 sioned so great a terror in it, that he immediately de-
 ed, and retired by his rear, seized with fear, and almost
 spair. He held a great council, to deliberate upon pro-
 neasures. The question was, whether it was best to halt
 r the walls of Pydna, to try the chance of a battle, or
 vide his troops into his towns, supply them well with
 sions, and expect the enemy there, who could not subsist
 in a country which he had taken care to lay waste, and
 l furnish neither forage for the horse, nor provisions for
 men. The latter resolution had great inconveniencies,
 argued the prince reduced to the last extremity, without
 r hope or resource; not to mention the hatred he had
 n upon himself by ruining the country, which he had
 nly commanded, but executed in person. Whilst Per-

seus, uncertain what to resolve, fluctuated in doubt; the principal officers represented to him, that his army was much superior to that of the Romans; that his troops were determined to behave well, having their wives and children to defend; that being himself witness of all their actions, and fighting at their head, they would behave with double ardour, and give proofs of their valour in emulation of each other. These reasons re-animated the prince. He retired under the walls of Pydna, where he encamped, and prepared for a battle. He forgot nothing that might conduce to the advantage of his ground, assigned every one his post, and gave all orders with great presence of mind; resolved to attack the Romans as soon as they appeared.

The place where he encamped was a bare level country, very fit for drawing up a great body of heavy-armed foot in battle. Upon the right and left there were a ridge of little hills, which joining together gave the light-armed foot, and the archers, a secure retreat, and also a means to conceal their marching to surround the enemy, and to charge them in flank. The whole front of the army was covered by two small rivers, which had not much water at that time, in consequence of the season (for it was then about the end of summer) but whose steep banks would give the Romans great trouble, and break their ranks.

Paulus Æmilius being arrived at Pythium, and having joined Scipio's detachment, marched down into the plain, and advanced in order of battle against the enemy; keeping always on the sea-coast, for the convenience of having provisions brought in barks from the Roman fleet. But when he came in view of the Macedonians, and had considered the good disposition of their army, and the number of their troops, he halted to deliberate upon what he had to do. The young officers, full of ardour and impatience for the battle, advanced at the head of the troops, and came to him, to intreat him to give battle without any delay. Scipio, whose boldness was increased by his late success upon mount Olympus, distinguished himself above all the rest by his earnestness, and the pressing instances he made. He represented to him, that the generals, his predecessors, had suffered the enemy to escape out of their hands by delays. That he was afraid Perseus would fly in the night, and they should be obliged to pursue him, with great danger and difficulty, to the remotest parts of his kingdom, in making the army take great compasses through defiles and forests, as had happened in the preceding years. He advised him therefore, whilst the enemy was in the open field

, to attack him immediately, and not to let slip so fair occasion of conquering him.

Formerly," replied the consul to young Scipio, "I thought as you do now, and one day you will think as I do. I shall give you the reasons of my conduct another time; at present, satisfy yourself, and rely upon the discretion of an old general." The young officer was silent, convinced that the consul had good reasons for acting as he

after having spoken thus, he commanded the troops, who were at the head of the army, in view of the enemy, to draw up in battle, and to present a front, as if they intended to engage. They were disposed, according to the custom of the Romans, in three lines. At the same time the pioneers (*c.*), ordered by those lines, were employed in forming a camp. As they were a great number, the work was soon completed. The consul made the battalions file off gradually, beginning from the rear, which was nearest the workmen, and drew off the whole army into the entrenchments, without confusion, disorder, or being perceived by the enemy. The king on his seeing the Romans decline fighting, retired also into his camp.

It was an inviolable law amongst the Romans, though they were to stay only one day and night in a place, to enclose themselves in a well-fortified camp: by that means they placed themselves out of insult, and avoided all surprize. The soldiers looked upon this military abode as their city; the entrenchments served instead of walls, and the tents of houses. In case of a battle, if the army were overcome, the camp served for their retreat and refuge; and if victorious, they found it a place of quiet and security.

When the night being come, and the troops having taken their rest, whilst they had no other thoughts than of going to sleep, on a sudden the moon, which was then at full, and shone very high, began to grow dark, and the light failing little and little, it changed its colour several times, and at length totally eclipsed. A tribune, called C. Sulpitius, one of the principal officers of the army, having assembled the soldiers, with the consul's permission, had showed them of the eclipse, and shewn them the exact moment when

(c) *Hastati Principes Triarii.*

Majores vestri castra munita sunt ad omnes casus exercitus dūtesse.—Patria altera est militibus hæc sedes, vallumque pro

mœnibus & tentorium suum cuique militi domus ac penates sunt.—Castra sunt victori receptaculum, victo persugium, Liv. J. xliiv. n. 39.

when it would begin, and how long it would continue. The Roman soldiers therefore were not astonished at this accident; they only believed, that Sulpitius had more than human knowledge. But the whole camp of the Macedonians were seized with horror and dread; and it was whispered throughout all the army, that this prodigy foretold the ruin of the king.

The next day Paulus Æmilius, who was a very religious observer of all the ceremonies prescribed for the sacrifices, or rather very superstitious, applied himself to offering oxen to Hercules. He sacrificed twenty, one after another, without finding any favourable sign in the entrails of those victims. At length, at the one-and-twentieth he imagined he saw such as promised him the victory, if he only defended himself, without attacking the enemy. At the same time he vowed a sacrifice to the same god of 100 oxen, with public games. Having made an end of all these religious ceremonies, about nine in the morning he assembled his council. He had heard complaints of his slowness in attacking the enemy. He desired therefore to give this assembly an account of his conduct, especially out of regard for Scipio, to whom he had promised it. The reasons for his not having given battle the day before were: first, because the enemy's army was much superior in number to his own, which he had been obliged to weaken considerably by the great detachment for the guard of the baggage. In the second place, would it have consisted with prudence to engage troops entirely fresh with his, exhausted as they were by a long and painful march, by the excessive weight of their arms, by the heat of the sun, with which they had been almost broiled, and by thirst, which gave them insupportable pain? In the last place, he insisted strongly on the indispensable necessity a good general was under, not to fight till he had a well-entrenched camp behind him, which might, in case of accident, serve the army for a retreat. He concluded his discourse with bidding them prepare for battle the same day.

We see here, * that there is a wide difference between the duty of soldiers and subaltern officers, and that of a general; the former have only to desire, and behave well in; battle; but the general's business is to foresee, weigh, and compare every thing, in order to chuse his measures with mature deliberation; and by a wise delay of some days, or even hours, he often preserves an army, which an inconsiderate precipitation might have exposed to ruin.

Though

* Divisa inter exercitum ducesque
nia. Militibus cupidinem pug-
andi convenire; duces providendo,
consultando, cunctatione sapiens quam
temeritate prodest. *Tacit. Hist. l. iii.*
c. 20.

ough the resolution for fighting had been taken on both it was, however, rather a kind of chance that drew on battle, than the order of the generals, who were not very on either side. Some Thracian soldiers charged a party Romans in their return from foraging. Seven hundred Thracians ran to assist these foragers. The Macedonians caused to advance to support the Thracians; the reinforcements on both sides continually increasing, the battle at length ne general.

is a misfortune that we have lost the passage of Polybius, after him of Livy, which describes the order of this battle: puts it out of my power to give a just idea of it, what Arch says being quite different from the little which remains of it in Livy.

the beginning of the charge the Macedonian phalanx gushed themselves from all the king's troops in a particular manner. Upon which Paulus Æmilius advanced to front ranks, and found, that the Macedonians, who formed head of the phalanx, drove the points of their pikes the shields of his soldiers in such a manner, that they, whatever efforts they made, were unable to reach them their swords; and he saw, at the same time, that the front line of the enemies joined their bucklers, and nted their pikes. This rampart of brass, and forest-ikes, impenetrable to his legions, filled him with astonishment and terror. He often spoke afterwards of the effort that dreadful sight made upon him, and what it gave him to doubt of the success of the battle. But to discourage his troops, he concealed from them his anxiety, and appearing with a gay and serene countenance, through all the ranks without helmet or cuirass, animating them with his expressions, and much more by his example. The general, more than sixty years of age, was seen fighting himself to danger and fatigue like a young officer. The Pelignians, a people of Italy, who had attacked the Macedonian phalanx, not being able to break it with their first endeavours, one of their officers took the ensigns of company, and tossed into the midst of the enemy. They threw themselves, in consequence, like desperate men, that battalion. Astonishing actions ensued on both sides, with a most dreadful slaughter. The Pelignians endeavored to cut the pikes of the Macedonians with their swords, to push them back with their bucklers; striving sometimes to pull them out of their hands, or to turn them aside, in order to open themselves an entrance between them. But the Macedonians always keeping close order, and holding their

their pikes in both hands, presented that iron rampart, and gave those such great strokes that flung upon them, that, piercing shields and cuirasses, they laid the boldest of the Pelignians dead, who, without any caution, continued to rush headlong, like wild beasts, upon the spears of their enemies, and to hurry upon a death they saw before their eyes.

The whole front-line being thus put into disorder, the second was discouraged, and began to fall back. They did not fly indeed; but, instead of advancing, they retreated toward mount * Olocris. When Paulus Æmilius saw that, he tore his clothes, and was struck with extreme sorrow to see, upon the first troops having given way, that the Romans were afraid to face the phalanx. It presented a front covered with pikes, and close as an impenetrable entrenchment; and continuing invincible, it could neither be broke nor opened. But at length the inequality of the ground, and the great extent of the front of battle, not admitting the enemy to continue every-where that line of bucklers and pikes, Paulus Æmilius observed the Macedonian phalanx was obliged to leave openings and intervals, and that it fell back on one side, whilst it advanced on the other; which must necessarily happen in great armies, when the troops, not always acting with the same vigour, fight also with different success.

Paulus Æmilius, as an able general, who knew how to improve all advantages, dividing his troops into platoons, gave orders for them to fall into the void spaces of the enemies battle, and to attack them no longer in front by a general charge, but by small detachments, and in different places at the same time. This order, given so critically, occasioned the gaining of the battle. The Romans immediately fell into the void spaces, and thereby put it out of the enemies power to use their long pikes, charging them in flank and rear, where they were uncovered. The phalanx was broke in an instant, and all its force, which consisted solely in its union, and the weight of the whole body together, vanished and disappeared. When they came to fight man to man, or platoon to platoon, the Macedonians with their short swords struck upon the Roman shields, which were very strong and solid, and covered them almost from head to foot; on the contrary, they opposed small bucklers against the swords of the Romans, which were heavy and strong, and handled with such force and vigour, that they scarce discharged a blow which did not either cut deep, or make shields and armour fly in pieces, and draw

* That mountain was evidently part of Olympus.

draw blood. The phalanx having lost their advantage, and being taken on their weak side, resisted with great difficulty, and were at length overthrown.

The king of Macedonia, abandoning himself to his fear, rode off full speed in the beginning of the battle, and retired into the city of Pydna, under pretence of going to offer a sacrifice to Hercules; as if, says Plutarch, Hercules were a god that would receive the sacrifices of abject cowards, or give ear to unjust vows; for it is not just that he should be victorious, who durst not face his enemy: whereas the same god received the prayer of Paulus Æmilius, because he asked victory with sword in hand, and invoked his aid by fighting valiantly.

It was in the attack of the phalanx where the battle was warmest, and where the Romans found the greatest resistance. It was there, also, that the son of Cato, Paulus Æmilius's son-in-law, after having done prodigies of valour, unhappily lost his sword, which slipped out of his hand. Upon this accident, quite out of himself and inconsolable, he ran through the ranks, and assembling a body of brave and resolute young soldiers, he rushed headlong and furious upon the Macedonians. After extraordinary efforts, and a most bloody slaughter, they made the latter give way, and remaining masters of the ground, they applied themselves in searching for the sword, which they found at last under heaps of arms and dead bodies. Transported with that good fortune, and raising shouts of victory, they fell with new ardour upon such of the enemy as stood firm; so that at length the 3000 Macedonians who remained, and were a distinct body from the phalanx, were entirely cut to pieces; not a man of them quitting his rank, or ceasing to fight to the last moment of his life.

After the defeat of this body, all the rest fled, and so great a number of them were killed, that the whole plain, to the foot of the mountain, was covered with the dead, and the next day, when the Romans passed the river Leucus, they found the waters still stained with their blood. It is said that 25,000 men on the side of the Macedonians perished in this battle. The Romans lost only 100, and made 11 or 12,000 prisoners. The cavalry, which had no share in this battle, seeing the foot put to the rout, had retired; and the Romans, from their violent ardour against the phalanx, did not think at that time of pursuing them.

This great battle was decided so suddenly, that the charge, which began at three in the afternoon, was followed by the victory

victory before four. The rest of the day was employed in the pursuit, which was carried very far; so that the troops did not return till late in the night. All the servants in the army went out to meet their masters with great shouts of joy, and conducted them with torches to the camp, where they had made illuminations, and covered the tents with wreaths of ivy and crowns of laurel.

But in the midst of his great victory, the general was in extreme affliction. Of the two sons he had in the battle, the youngest, who was but seventeen years old, and whom he loved with most tenderness, because he had already given great hopes of himself, did not appear. The camp was in an universal alarm, and the cries of joy were changed into a mournful silence. They searched for him with torches amongst the dead, but to no purpose. At length, when the night was very much advanced, and they despaired of ever seeing him more, he returned from the pursuit, attended only by two or three of his comrades, all covered with the blood of the enemy. Paulus Æmilius thought he had recovered him from the dead, and did not begin to taste the joy of his victory till that moment. He was reserved for other tears, and ruins no less to be deplored. The young Roman, of whom we speak, was the second Scipio, who was afterwards called Africanus, and Numantinus, from having destroyed Carthage and Numantia. He was adopted by the son of Scipio, the conqueror of Hannibal. The consul immediately dispatched three couriers of distinction (of whom his son Fabius was one) to carry the news of this victory to Rome.

In the mean time Perseus, continuing his flight, had passed the city of Pydna, and endeavoured to gain Pella, with all his horse, which had escaped from the battle without striking a blow. The foot soldiers that fled in disorder, meeting them upon the road, reproached them in the sharpest terms, calling them cowards and traitors; and carrying their resentment farther, they pulled them off their horses, and wounded a great number of them. The king, who apprehended the consequences of that tumult, quitted the high road, and, that he might not be known, folded up his royal mantle, put it behind him, took the diadem from his head, and carried it in his hand, and, to discourse with his friends with the more ease, he alighted, and led his horse in his hand. Several of

* This was a custom among the Romans. Cæsar writes in the third book of the civil war, That he found in Pompey's camp the tents of Lentulus,

and some others, covered with ivy. L. etiam Lentuli & nonnullorum tabernacula protecta hedera.

ose who attended him took different routs from his, under various pretexts ; lest to avoid the pursuit of the enemy, than shun the fury of the prince, whose defeat had only served to irritate and enflame his natural ferocity. Of all his courtiers, three only remained with him, and those all rangers. Evander of Crete, whom he had employed to assassinate king Eumenes, was one of them. He retained his delity for him to the last.

When he arrived about midnight in Pella, he stabbed two of his treasurers with his own hands, for being so bold as to present to him the faults he had committed, and with ill-mannered freedom to give him their counsel, upon what was necessary to be done for the retrieving his affairs. This cruel treatment of two of the principal officers of his court, who had failed only out of an imprudent and ill-timed zeal, entirely lost him with every body. Alarmed by the almost universal desertion of his officers and courtiers, he did not think himself safe at Pella, and left it the same night to go to Amphipolis, carrying along with him the greatest part of his treasures. When he arrived there, he sent deputies to Paulus Æmilius, to implore his mercy. From Amphipolis he went to the island of Samothracia, and took refuge in the temple

of Castor and Pollux. All the cities of Macedonia opened their gates to the victor, and made their submission.

The consul having quitted Pydna, arrived the next day at Pella, the happy situation of which he admired. The king's treasures had been kept in this city ; but only the 300 talents

which he had sent to Gentius, king of Thrace, and afterwards used to be brought back, were found there. Paulus Æmilius, having been informed that Perseus was in Samothracia, repaired to Amphipolis, in order to pass from thence to that island.

He was encamped (d) at Sires, * in the country of the Pæonians, when he received a letter from Perseus, which was presented to him by three deputies of inconsiderable birth and condition. He could not forbear shedding tears, when he reflected upon the uncertainty of human affairs, of which the present condition of Perseus was a sensible example. But when he saw this title and inscription upon the letter, *Perseus king, to the consul Paulus Æmilius, greeting* ; the stupid ignorance that prince seemed to be in of his condition, extinguished in him all sense of compassion ; and though the tenor of the letter was couched in an humble and supplicant style, and

(d) Liv. l. xlv. n. 3-9. Plot. in Paul. Æmil. p. 269, 270.

* An obscure unknown city, upon the eastern frontier of Macedonia.

and little consisted with the royal dignity, he dismissed the deputies without an answer. How haughty were these proud republicans, to degrade an unfortunate king immediately in this manner! Perseus perceived the name he was henceforth to forget. He wrote a second letter, to which he only put his name, without the addition of his quality. He demanded, that commissioners should be sent to treat with him, which was granted. This negotiation had no effect, because, on the one side, Perseus would not renounce the royal dignity, and Paulus Æmilius, on the other, insisted, that he should submit his fate entirely to the determination of the Roman people.

During this time the prætor Octavius, who commanded the fleet, arrived at Samothracia. He did not take Perseus by force out of that asylum, in respect to the gods who presided in it, but he endeavoured by promises and threats to induce him to quit it, and surrender himself to the Romans. His endeavours were ineffectual.

A young Roman (named Acilius) either of himself, or in concert with the prætor, took another course to draw the king out of the sanctuary. In the assembly of the Samothracians, which was then held, he said to them: "Is it a truth, or without foundation, that your island is held a sacred and inviolable asylum throughout all its extent?" Upon being answered by all present, that it was undoubtedly so. "How then," continued he, "do you suffer its sanctity to be violated by an homicide, contaminated with the blood of king Eumenes? And as all religious ceremonies begin by the exclusion of those whose hands are impure, how can you suffer your temple to be profaned and defiled by the presence of an infamous murderer?" His accusation fell upon Perseus; but the Samothracians chose rather to apply it to Evander, whom all the world knew had been the agent in the intended assassination of Eumenes. They sent therefore to tell the king, that Evander was accused of assassination, and that he should appear, according to the custom of their sanctuary, to justify himself before the judges; or, if he was afraid to do that, that he should take measures for his safety, and quit the temple. The king having sent for Evander, advised him in the strongest terms not to submit to that sentence. He had his reasons for giving this counsel, apprehending he would declare, that the assassination had been undertaken by his order, and therefore gave him to understand, that the only method he could take was to kill himself. Evander seemed at first to consent to it, and professing, that he had rather die by poison





***PERSEUS in the TENT of
PAULUS EMILIUS.***

Published 20. June 1790 by J. & P. Knapton

than the sword, he intended to make his escape by

The king was aware of that design, and fearing the
iracians would let the weight of their resentment fall on
s having withdrawn the offender from the punishment
erved, he ordered him to be killed. This was pol-
the sanctuary with a new crime; but he corrupted the
sal magistrate with presents of money, who declared in-
temply, that Evander had laid violent hands upon him-

prætor, not being able to persuade Perseus to quit his
s, was reduced to deprive him of all means to embark
like his escape. However, notwithstanding his pre-
as, Perseus gained secretly a certain Cretan, called
des, who had a merchant ship, and prevailed upon
receive him on board, with all his treasures; they
ed to 2000 talents, that is, to about 300,000 pounds.
spicious as he was, he did not dispossess himself of the
; sent only a part of it to the ship, and reserved the rest
be carried on board with himself. The Cretan, fol-
; the genius of his country upon this occasion, shipped
gold and silver that had been sent him in the evening.
Perseus know, that he had only to come to port at
the with his children, and such of his people as were
tely necessary to attend his person.

appointed time approaching, Perseus with infinite
ty crept through a narrow window, crossed a garden,
it out through a ruinous house, with his wife and son.
mainder of his treasures followed him. His grief and
r was inexpressible, when he was informed that
des, with his rich freight, was under sail. He had ex-
his other children to Ion of Thessalonica, who had been
rourite, and betrayed him in his misfortunes; for he
red up his children to Octavius; which was the prin-
ause that induced Perseus to put himself into the power
se who had his children in their hands.

accordingly surrendered himself and Philip his son to
ctor Octavius, who made him embark, in order to his
carried to the consul; having first apprized him of his
g. Paulus Æmilius sent his son-in-law Tubercus to meet
Perseus, in a mourning habit, entered the camp, at-
l only by his son. The consul, who waited for him
a sufficiently numerous train, upon his arrival rose from
it, and advancing some few steps, offered him his hand.
is threw himself at his feet; but he raised him imme-
y, and would not suffer him to embrace his knees.

Having

Having introduced him into his tent, he made him sit facing those who formed the assembly.

He began by asking him; "What cause of discontent induced him to enter with so much animosity into a country with the Roman people, that exposed himself and his country to the greatest dangers?" When, instead of the answer which every body expected, the king, fixing his eyes upon the ground, and shedding tears, kept silence, Paulus Æmilius continued to this effect: "Had you ascended the throne a youth, I should be less surprized at your being ignorant of what it was to have the Roman people for your friends or enemies. But having been present in the deliberations made by your father against us, and certainly remembering the peace, which we have punctually observed on our part, how could you prefer war rather than peace, with a people, whose force in the former, and fidelity in the latter, you had so well experienced?" Perseus making more answer to this reproach than he had done to the question: "In whatsoever manner, notwithstanding, I assumed the consul, these affairs have happened; whether they are the effects of error, to which all mankind are liable, or of chance, or that fatal destiny which superintends all things, take courage. The clemency with which the Roman people have behaved in regard to many of our kings and nations, ought to inspire you, I do not say with some hope only, but with almost entire confidence, that you will meet with the same treatment." He spoke thus in Greek to Perseus: Then turning towards the Romans, "I see," said he in his own language, "a great example of the inconstancy of human affairs. It is to you, young Romans, I address this discourse. The uncertainty of what may happen to us every day, ought to teach us never to use any one with insolence and cruelty in our prosperity, nor rely too much upon our present advantages. The proof of real merit and true valour is neither too elate in good, nor too dejected in bad, fortune." Paulus Æmilius, having dismissed the assembly, charged Tubero with the care of the king. He invited him that day to his table, and ordered him to be treated with all the honours his present condition would admit.

* Exemplum insigne cernitis, inquit, mutationis rerum humanarum. Vobis hoc præcipue dico, juvenes. Ideo in secundis rebus nihil in quemquam superbū ac violenter consulere decet, nec præsentem fortunæ, cum, quid vespere feras certum sit. Is demum vir erit, animus nec prospera statu suo est nec adversa infringet. Liv.

The army went afterwards into winter-quarters. Amphipolis received the greatest part of the troops; the rest were distributed into the neighbouring cities. Thus ended the war between the Romans and Perseus, which had continued four years; and with it a kingdom so illustrious both in Europe and Asia. Perseus had ^(e) reigned eleven years. He was reckoned the * fortieth king from Caranus, who was the first that reigned in Macedonia. So important a conquest cost Paulus Æmilius only fifteen days.

The kingdom of Macedonia had been very obscure, till the time of Philip, son of Amyntas. Under that prince, and by his great exploits, it made considerable acquisitions, which did not extend however beyond the bounds of Europe; he annexed to it a part of Thrace and Illyria, and acquired a kind of empire over all Greece. It afterwards extended into Asia; and in the thirteen years of the reign of Alexander, subjected all the provinces, of which the vast empire of the Persians was composed, and carried its victorious arms to the extremities of the earth; I mean, to Arabia on one side, and the Indies on the other. This empire of Macedonia, the greatest that had been in the world, divided, or rather torn, into different kingdoms, after the death of Alexander by his successors, who took each a part to himself, subsisted during something more than 150 years; from the exalted height to which the victorious arms of that prince had raised it, to the entire ruin of Macedonia. Such was the period of the so-much-boasted exploits of that famous conqueror, the terror and admiration of the universe; or, to speak more justly, the example of the most vain and most frantick ambition the world ever knew.

The three deputies whom Paulus Æmilius had sent to Rome, to carry thither the news of this victory over Perseus, used all possible diligence on their journey. But long before their arrival, and only the fourth day after the battle, whilst the games were celebrating in their Circus, it was whispered about, that a battle had been fought in Macedonia, and Perseus entirely defeated. This news was attended with clapping of hands, and cries of victory throughout the whole Circus. But when the magistrates, after a strict enquiry, had discovered that it was a rumour, without either author or foundation, that false and short-lived joy ceased, and left only a

secret

(e) Liv. l. xlv. n. 4.

* *Livy, such as we have him, says the twentieth. Justin, the thirtieth. The fortieth, with Eusebius. It is thought there is an error in the figure, and that it should be corrected.*

secret hope, that it was perhaps a preface of victory, or either was already, or would soon be, obtained.

The arrival of the deputies put Rome out of pain. They were informed, that Perseus had been entirely defeated; he was flying, and could not escape falling into the hands of the victor. The people's joy, which had been suspended, then, broke out immoderately. The deputies read a circumstantial narrative of the battle, first in the senate, and afterwards in the assembly of the people. Publick prayers and sacrifices were decreed, and all the temples filled in an instant with infinite crowds of people, who went thither to render thanks to the gods for their signal protection of the republick.

After the nomination of (f) new consuls at Rome, the command of the army in Macedonia was continued to P. Æmilius, and that in Illyria to L. Anicius. Ten commissioners were then appointed to regulate affairs in Macedonia, and for Illyria. The senate, before they set out, regulated a commission in part. It was decreed in particular, that Macedonians and Illyrians should be declared free; in such a manner that all nations might know, the end of the Roman arms was not to subject free people, but to deliver such as were enslaved; so that the one, under the protection of the Roman name, might always retain their liberty, and the other, were under the rule of kings, might be treated with lenity and justice by them, in consideration for the Roman name; or that, whenever war should arise between those kings and the Roman people, the nations might know, that the issue of those wars would be victory for the Romans, and liberty for the others. The senate also abolished certain duties upon mines and land-estates; because those duties could not be collected but by the ministry of tax-farmers, commonly called publicans; and that whenever such sort of farmers are suffered, the laws are of no force, and the people are all oppressed. They established a general council for the nation, lest the populace should cause the liberty granted them by the senate to degenerate into a destructive licence. Macedonia was divided into four regions: each of which had a district council, and were to pay the Romans one moiety of the tributes which they had been accustomed to pay their kings. These were in part the orders with which the commissioners for Macedonia were charged. Those for Illyria had al-

(f) A. M. 3837. Ant. J. C. 167. Liv. lxxv. n. 17, 18.

* Et ubi publicanus est, ibi aut jus publicum vanum, aut libertas sociis nullam esse. Liv.

the same instructions, and arrived there first. After having communicated their commission to the pro-prator Anicius, who came to Scodra to meet them, they summoned an assembly of the principal persons of the nation. Anicius having ascended his tribunal, declared to them, that the senate and people of Rome granted liberty to the Illyrians, and that the garrisons should be withdrawn from all the cities and forts of the country as soon as possible. In regard to some people, who, either before or during the war, had declared for the Romans, an exemption from all taxes was added to their liberty; all the rest were discharged from one half of the imposts formerly paid to the kings. Illyria was divided into three regions or parts, which had each of them their publick council and magistrates.

Before the deputies for Macedonia (*g*) arrived there, Paulus Æmilius, who was at leisure, visited, during the autumn, the most celebrated cities of Greece; to see those things with his own eyes, which all the world talked of, without knowing them. Having left the command of the camp to Sulpicius Gallus, he set out with a small train, accompanied by young Scipio his son, and Athenæus, king Eumenes's brother.

He passed through Thessaly, in his way to Delphos, the most celebrated oracle in the universe. The multitude and value of the presents, statues, vessels, and tripods, with which that temple was filled, surprized him extremely. He there offered a sacrifice to Apollo. Having seen a great square pillar of white marble, on which a golden statue of Perseus was to have been placed, he caused his own to be set upon it, saying, *That the vanquished ought to give place to the victors.*

He saw at Lebadia the temple of Jupiter, surnamed Trophonius, and the entrance of the cavern, into which those who consulted the * oracle descended. He offered a sacrifice to Jupiter, and the goddesses Hercynna, who was believed to be the daughter of Trophonius.

At Chalcis he gratified his curiosity in seeing the Euripus, and the ebb and flow of the sea, which is there very frequent and extraordinary.

From thence he went to the city of Aulis, from which port the famous fleet of Agamemnon sailed for Troy. He made a visit to the temple of Diana in that place, upon whose altar that king of kings sacrificed his daughter Iphigenia, to obtain a prosperous voyage from the goddesses.

VOL. VII.

I

After

(*R*) Liv. l. xlv. p. 27, 28. Plut. in Paul. Æmil. p. 270.

* For an account of this oracle, see Book X. Chap. III. Sect. II.

After having passed through Oropus in Attica, where soothsayer Amphilochus was honoured as a god, he came to Athens, a city celebrated by ancient renown, where a variety of objects presented themselves to his view capable of inspiring and gratifying his curiosity: the temples, the ports, the walls which joined the Piræus to the city, the arsenals for the navy, erected by illustrious generals, the statues of gods and men, in which it was hard to know whether the matter or art were most admirable. He forgot to offer a sacrifice to Minerva, the tutelary goddess of the citadel.

Whilst Paulus Æmilius was in that city, he demanded an excellent philosopher of the Athenians to finish the education of his children, and a fine painter to design the ornaments of his triumph. They immediately cast their eyes upon Metrodorus, who excelled both in philosophy and painting: singular and extraordinary praise, which was confirmed by experience, and the approbation of Paulus Æmilius. Here we see the attention paid by the great men of antiquity to the education of their children. The sons of that Roman general were then of some age, the youngest of the two made the campaign in Macedonia with his father, but that time seventeen years old. He thought it necessary, however, to have a philosopher with them, capable of improving both their minds by the study of the sciences, and their manners by that of moral virtue, which of all studies is the most important, and yet the most neglected. To know what the effects of such an education, we have not only to consider the future greatness of the youngest of the two sons, the consul, who inherited the name and merit of Scipio Africanus his grandfather by adoption, and of Paulus Æmilius his natural father; who ruined Carthage and Numantia, distinguished himself as much by polite learning as by his military virtues; who held it for his honour to have Polybius the historian, Panætius the philosopher, Terence the poet, for his friends and companions; who, in short, to use the terms of a writer of excellent sense, said, did, or thought, any thing unworthy a Roman. Æmilius, having found the precious treasure he sought, in the person of Metrodorus, left Athens well satisfied.

He arrived in two days at Corinth. The citadel and the city were an agreeable sight to him. The first, which was

* P. Scipio Æmilianus, vir avitus P. Africani paternique L. Scipii virtutibus simillimus; omnium belli ac togæ dotibus, ingenique ac studiorum eminentissimus, qui nihil in vita nisi laudem aut sectam, aut dixit ac sensit. l. i. c. 12.

on the top of a mountain, abounded with streams and fountains of exceedingly pure water; and the isthmus, which separated by a very small neck of land two neighbouring seas, one on the east, and the other on the west of it.

Sicyon and Argos, two very illustrious cities, were the next on his way, and afterwards Epidaurus, less opulent than the two others, but well known from the famous temple of *Æsculapius*, where he saw an infinite multitude of rich presents, the offerings of sick persons, out of gratitude for the cures they imagined to have received from that god.

Sparta was not distinguished by the magnificence of its buildings, but by the wisdom of its laws, customs, and discipline.

Having taken Megalopolis in his way, he arrived at Olympia, where he saw abundance of things worthy of admiration; but when he cast his eyes upon the statue of Jupiter, Phidias's master-piece, he was as much struck, says Livy, as if he had seen the god himself, and cried out, that *This Jupiter of Phidias was the exact Jupiter of Homer**. Imagining himself in the Capitol, he offered a more solemn sacrifice here than he had done any where else.

Having made the tour of Greece in this manner, without giving himself any trouble to know people's thoughts in regard to Perseus, and to avoid giving the allies any cause of discontent, he returned to Demetrias. He had met on his way a number of *Ætolians*, who came to inform him of an unhappy accident which had befallen their city. He ordered them to attend him at Amphipolis. Having received advice, that the ten commissioners had already passed the sea, he quitted all other affairs, and went to meet them at Apollonia, which was only one day's journey from Amphipolis. He was very much surprized to meet Perseus there, whom his guards suffered to go about with abundance of liberty, for which he afterwards warmly reproved Sulpitius, to whose care he had confided that important prisoner. He put him, with Philip his son, into the hands of Posthumius, with orders to guard him better. For his daughter and younger son, he caused them to be brought from Samothracia to Amphipolis, where he ordered such care to be taken of them as their birth and condition required.

* To have so well expressed the idea of Homer is highly to the praise of Phidias, but the having so well conceived all the majesty of God is much more so than that of Homer.

The commissioners (*b*) being come thither, as had been agreed on by them, and having entered the chamber of the assembly, where a great number of Macedonians were present he took his seat in his tribunal, and after having caused silence to be made by the crier, Paulus Æmilius repeated in Latin the regulations made by the senate and by himself, in conjunction with the commissioners, relating to Macedonia. The principal articles were, that Macedonia was declared free; that it should pay the Romans only half the tribute paid the king, which was fixed at the sum of 100 talents, or 100,000 crowns; that it should have a public council, composed of a certain number of senators, wherein all affairs should be discussed and adjudged; that it should be divided for the future into four regions or cantons, that should each have their council, in which particular affairs should be examined; and that no person should contract marriage, or purchase lands or houses out of their own canton. Several other articles of less importance were annexed to these. The prince Octavius, who was present in this assembly, explained the several articles in Greek, as Paulus Æmilius pronounced them in Latin. The article of liberty, and that for the diminution of tribute, gave the Macedonians exceeding pleasure, which little expected them: but they looked upon the division of Macedonia into different regions, that were not to have the usual commerce with each other, like the rending a body into pieces, by separating its members, which have no life, and subsist only in their mutual support of each other.

The consul (*i*) afterwards gave audience to the Ætolians. I shall relate elsewhere the subject of it.

After those foreign affairs were over, (*k*) Paulus Æmilius recalled the Macedonians into the assembly, in order to put the last hand to his regulations. He spoke at first upon the senators, who were to compose the public council, where the national affairs were to be transacted, and the choice of them was left to the people. A list was then read of the principal persons of the country, who were to be sent into Italy with such of their children as had attained the age of fifteen. This article seemed very hard at first; but it was soon perceived, that it had been resolved only for the better security of the people's liberty. For this list included the great leaders and generals of the army, commanders of the fleet, all such as had any offices at the court, or had been employed in embassies, with many other officers accustomed to pay their duty to the king in the abject manner of slaves, and to command

(*b*) Liv. l. xiv. n. 29. 30.

(*i*) Ibid. n. 31.

(*k*) Ibid. n. 32.

with insolence. These were all rich persons who at a great expence, had magnificent equipages, and did not easily be reduced to a quite different kind of life, which liberty makes the whole people equal, and subjects to the laws. They were therefore all ordered to quit Macedonia, and transport themselves into Italy, upon pain of death for such as disobeyed. The regulations made for Macedonia by Paulus Æmilius were so reasonable, that they did seem calculated for conquered enemies, but for faithful subjects, with whom there was entire reason to be satisfied; and effects, from which the nature of laws are best known, proved, that there was nothing to be amended in the institutions of that wise magistrate.

To these serious affairs (1) succeeded a celebration of games, which preparations had long been making, and to which had been taken to invite all the most considerable persons of the cities of Asia and Greece. The Roman general offered magnificent sacrifices to the gods, and gave superb feasts; the king's treasures supplying him abundantly with the means of paying such great expences; but for the good order and taste observable in them, he was indebted solely to himself.

Having so many thousands to receive, he evidenced so much discernment, and so exact a knowledge of the quality of the guests, that every one was lodged, placed, and treated according to his rank and merit; and there was nobody who did not reason to praise his politeness and generosity. The Greeks could not sufficiently admire, that even in games, till then unknown to the Romans, he should instance so distinguishing a judgment and attention; and that a man employed in the greatest, should not neglect the least propriety in small affairs.

He had caused all the spoils that he did not think fit to carry to Rome to be piled up in one great heap; bows, quivers, arrows, javelins, in a word, arms of all sorts; and ordered them to be disposed of in form of trophies. With a bow in his hand, he set fire to them first himself, as his principal officers did after him.

He afterwards exposed to the view of the spectators, upon a place raised expressly for the occasion, all that was richest and most magnificent in the spoils he had taken in Macedonia, which were to be carried to Rome; rich moveables, statues, and paintings of the greatest masters, vessels of gold, silver, copper, and ivory. Never had Alexandria, in the

times of its greatest opulence, beheld any thing like what was now exhibited.

But the highest satisfaction Paulus Æmilius received from his magnificence, and which was still more grateful to self-love, was to see, that in the midst of so many extraordinary objects and curious sights, nothing was thought so wonderful, or so worthy of attention and admiration, as himself. And as people were surprized at the fine order of his table, he said, with an air of pleasantry, that the same genius which was necessary in disposing a battle would serve also in regulating a feast; in the first, it rendered an army formidable to enemies; in the latter, an entertainment agreeable to guests.

His disinterestedness and magnanimity were no less praised than his magnificence and politeness; for he never so much as saw the gold and silver found among the king's treasures, which amounted to very great sums, but ordered it all to be delivered to treasurers, in order to its being applied to the use of the public. He only permitted his sons, who were fond of study, to keep the books of Perseus's library for their own use. The young noblemen of those times, and such as were designed one day for the command of armies, did not profess a contempt for learning, nor believe it either unworthy of their birth, or unnecessary to the profession of arms.

When Paulus Æmilius (*m*) had regulated all the affairs of Macedonia, he took leave of the Greeks, and after having exhorted the Macedonians not to abuse the liberty granted them by the Romans, and to preserve it by good government and union, he set out for Epirus, with a decree of the senate, to abandon all the cities that had revolted to the king's party to be plundered by his troops. He had sent also Scipio Nasica, and Fabius his son, with part of the army, to ravage the country of the Illyrians, who had given aid to that prince.

The Roman general, being arrived in Epirus, thought it proper, for the more prudent execution of his commission, that his design should not be foreseen. He therefore sent officers into all the cities, under pretence of withdrawing the garrisons, in order that the Epirots should enjoy the same liberty as the Macedonians. So unworthy a stratagem was called prudence. He then signified to ten of the principal persons of each city, that they should bring all the gold and silver in their houses and temples upon a certain day into the market-place, to be laid up in the public treasury, and distributed his troops into all the cities. Upon the day prefixed, all the gold and silver was brought early in the morning into
the

public place, and at ten of the clock the soldiers fell furiously upon the houses that were abandoned to them to be plundered at their mercy. An hundred and fifty thousand men were made slaves, and after the cities were pillaged, their walls were demolished, the number of which wanted very little of seventy. The whole booty was sold, and of the men raised by it, each of the horse had about ten pounds sterling (400 denarii) and each of the foot about five pounds, (50 denarii.)

After Paulus Æmilius, contrary to his natural disposition, which was gentle and humane, had caused this decree to be put in execution, he advanced to the sea at the city of Oricum. Some days after, Anicius having assembled the remainder of the Epirots and Acarnanians, ordered the principal persons of them, whose cause had been reserved for the judgment of the senate, to follow him into Italy.

Paulus Æmilius, being (n) arrived at the mouth of the river, entered that river in king Perseus's galley, which had sixteen benches of oars, and wherein was displayed, not only the arms which had been taken, but all the rich stuffs and best carpets of purple found amongst the booty. All the Romans who came out to meet that galley, accompanied it in crowds upon the side of the river, and seemed to give the consul an anticipation of the honours of the triumph he had well deserved. But the soldiery, who had looked with a greedy eye upon the immense treasures of the king, and had not had all the share of them they had promised themselves, retained a warm resentment upon that account, and were very dissatisfied with Paulus Æmilius. They openly reproached him with having treated them with too much rigour and authority, and seemed determined to refuse him the honour of a triumph by their suffrages. The soldiers called that general's taciturnity, in point of discipline, rigour; and their discontent, occasioned by avarice, threw a false gloss upon the excellent qualities of Paulus Æmilius; to whom, however, they were obliged to do justice in their hearts, by acknowledging the superiority of his merit in every thing.

After some debates, a triumph was granted him: Never did any thing been so magnificent. It continued three days successively. I do not enter into this place into a particular account of it; that seems foreign to the Grecian History. The money in specie carried in it, without reckoning an infinite number of gold and silver vessels, amounted to more than 1,250,000 £. sterling. One single cup of massy gold,

I 4

which

(n) Liv. l. xlv. n. 35-46. Plus in Paul. Æmil. p. 271.

which Paulus Æmilius had caused to be made, and weighed * ten talents, was valued for the gold only at 100,000 crowns. It was adorned with jewels, and consecrated to Jupiter Capitolinus.

Besides these rich spoils and treasures, which were carried in pomp, was seen the chariot of Perseus, with his arms, and upon his arms his royal diadem. At some distance followed his children, with their governors, preceptors, and all the officers of their household, who shedding tears held out their hands to the people, and taught those little captives to do the same, and to endeavour, by their supplications and prayers, to move them in their favour. They were two sons and a daughter, who had little sense of the greatness of their calamity, from the tenderness of their years; a circumstance which still more excited compassion. All eyes were fixed upon them, whilst their father was scarce regarded, and in the midst of the public joy, the people could not refrain from tears at so mournful a sight.

King Perseus walked after his children and all their train, wrapt in a mourning cloke. His air and behaviour seemed to argue, that the excess of his misfortunes had turned his brain. He was followed by a troop of his friends and courtiers, who hanging down their heads and weeping, with their eyes always fixed upon him, sufficiently explained to the spectators, that, little affected with their own misfortunes, they were sensible solely to those of their king.

It is said, that Perseus sent to desire Paulus Æmilius not to exhibit him as a spectacle to the Romans, and to spare him the indignity of being led in triumph. Paulus Æmilius replied coldly, *The favour he asks of me is in his own power, he can procure it for himself.* He reproached in those few words his cowardice and excessive love of life, which the Pagans thought it incumbent on them to sacrifice generously in such conjunctures. They did not know, that it is never lawful to attempt upon one's life. But Perseus was not prevented by that consideration.

Paulus Æmilius, seated in a superb chariot, and magnificently adorned, closed the march. He had his two sons on each side of him.

Whatever compassion he had for the misfortunes of Perseus, and however inclined he might be to serve him, all he could do for him was to have him removed from the public prison to a more commodious place. Himself and his son Alexander were carried, by the order of the senate, to Alba, where he

was

* The talent weighed sixty pounds.

warded, and supplied with money, furniture, and people
ve him. Most authors agree, that he occasioned his own
by abstaining from food. He had reigned eleven years.
donia was not reduced into a province till some years
wards.

. Octavius and L. Anicius were also granted the honour
triumph; the first for his naval victories, and the other
at he had gained in Illyria.

tys, king of Thrace, sent to demand his son, who had
confined in prison, after having been led in triumph.
xcused himself for his attachment to the party of Perseus,
ffered a great ransom for the prisoner. The senate,
ut receiving his excuses, replied, that having more re-
to his ancient services than late fault, they would send
his son, but without accepting any ransom. That the
rs conferred by the Roman people were free and volun-
and that they chose rather to leave the price of them to
ratitude and affection of those they obliged, than to be
immediately for them.

CHAP. II.

S second chapter includes the space of something more
an twenty years, from the defeat of Perseus, to the taking
d destruction of Corinth by Mummius, at which time
reece was reduced into a Roman province.

*P. I. ATTALUS comes to Rome to congratulate the Romans
on their success in Macedonia. The deputies of the Rhodians
esent themselves before the senate, and endeavour to appease
eir wrath. After long and warm solicitations, they prevail
be admitted into the alliance of the Roman people. Severity
ercised against the Ætolians. All of them in general, who
d favoured PERSEUS, are cited to Rome, to answer for
eir conduct. A thousand Achæans carried thither: POLY-
US one of the number. The senate banishes them into several
uns of Italy. After seventeen years of banishment, they are
et back into their own country; when only 300 of them re-
ained.*

AMONGST the different embassies from kings and
states, which came to Rome after the victory over
us, Attalus, Eumenes's brother, drew upon him, (p) more

I 5

than

*A. A. M. 3837. Ant. J. C. 167. (p) Polyb. Legat. xciii. Liv.
b. 2. 19, 20.*

than all others, the eyes and attention of the Romans. The ravages committed by the Asiatick Gauls in the kingdom of Pergamus, had laid Attalus under the necessity of going to Rome, to implore the republick's aid against those Barbarians. Another still more specious reason had obliged him to make that voyage. It was necessary to congratulate the Romans upon their last victory, and to receive the applauses he deserved for the part he had taken in the war against Perseus, and for having shared with them in all the dangers of it. He was received at Rome with all the marks of honour and amity that a prince could expect, who had approved, in the army in Macedonia, a constant and determinate attachment for the Romans. He had a most honourable reception, and made his entrance into the city attended by a very numerous train.

All these honours, the real cause of which he did not penetrate, made him conceive thoughts and hopes, which perhaps had never entered into his mind, if not suggested to him. The greatest part of the Romans had no longer any esteem or affection for Eumenes. His secret negotiations with Perseus, of which they had been apprized, made them believe that prince had never been heartily on their side, and that he only waited an occasion to declare against them. Full of this prejudice, some of the most distinguished Romans, in their private conversations with Attalus, advised him not to mention the business his brother had sent him to treat; but to speak solely of what related to himself. They gave him to understand, that the senate, to whom Eumenes was become suspected, and even odious, from his having appeared to waver between Perseus and the Romans, had thoughts of depriving him of part of his kingdom, and to give it to himself, upon whom they could rely as an assured friend incapable of changing. We may perceive here the maxims of the Roman policy; and these detached lines may serve to unveil it upon other occasions, when more attentive to conceal itself.

The temptation was delicate to a prince, who, without doubt, did not want ambition, and who was not of a character to reject such pleasing hopes, when they presented themselves to him without being solicited. He listened therefore to these discourses and this proposal, and the rather, because they came from some of the principal persons of Rome, whose wisdom he esteemed, and whose probity he respected. The affair went so far, that he promised them to demand in the senate, that part of his brother's kingdom should be given to him.

Attalus

ulus had a physician in his train, called Stratius, whom
 es, suspecting his brother, had sent with him to Rome,
 e an eye upon his conduct, and to recall him to his duty
 od counsel, if he should happen to depart from it.
 is had wit and penetration, and his manners were very
 ating, and well adapted to persuasion. Having either
 ered, or learnt from Attalus himself, the design that
 en instilled into him, he took the advantage of some
 able moments to open himself to him. He represented,
 the kingdom of Pergamus, weak of itself, and but
 utely established, had subsisted, and been improved sole-
 the union and good understanding of the brothers who
 ed it. That only one of them, indeed, enjoyed the
 of king, and wore the diadem; but that they all
 d in effect. That Eumenes, having no male issue,
 ie son he had afterwards, and who succeeded him, was
 en in being) he could leave his throne only to his next
 r. That his right to the succession of the kingdom
 erefore incontestable; and that, considering the age and
 ities of Eumenes, the time for such succession could
 very remote. And wherefore then should he antici-
 nd hasten, by a violent and criminal undertaking, what
 soon happen in a just and natural manner? Did he
 to divide the kingdom with his brother, or to deprive
 f it entirely? if he had only a part of it, both of them,
 ned by such division, and exposed to the enterprizes of
 neighbours, might be equally undone in the conse-
 ce. That if he proposed to reign alone, what would
 e of his elder brother? Would he reduce him to live
 rivate person, or send him, at his years, into banish-
 ? or, in a word, would he cause him to be put to
 ? That he did not doubt, but such thoughts must
 him horror. That, not to speak of the fabulous ac-
 s of the tragical effects of fraternal discord, the recent
 ple of Perseus might remind him of them. That that
 unate prince, who had torn the scepter from his bro-
 by shedding his blood, pursued by the divine venge-
 had lately laid down the same scepter at the feet of a
 ; in the temple of Samothracia, and in a manner before
 es, and by the order of the gods who preside there, the
 fices and avengers of his guilt. That he was assured,
 ery persons, who less out of friendship for him, than
 ll for Eumenes, gave him at present such pernicious
 els, would be the first to praise his tender and constant
 son for his brother, if he continued faithfully attached

to him to the last. Stratius added the extreme to which Attalus would expose the kingdom of Pergamum to the present conjuncture, when the Gauls were preparing to invade it.

How unworthy was it of the Romans to kindle and up the fire of discord in this manner between brothers! What value must a sincere, prudent, and disinterested man appear at such a time! What an advantage is it for a prince to give those who approach him the liberty of speaking to him, and without reserve to him; and of being known by him in that light! The wise remonstrances of Stratius had effect with Attalus. That prince, having been introduced into the senate, without speaking against his brother, demanding a division of the kingdom of Pergamum, contented himself with congratulating the senate, in the name of Eumenes and his brothers, upon the victory gained in Bithynia. He modestly displayed the zeal and affection which he had served in the war against Perseus. He desired that they would send ambassadors to check the insolence of the Gauls, and to reduce them to their former state. He concluded with requesting, that the investiture of *Ænus* and *Maronea*, cities of Thrace, might be given to him, as places had been conquered by Philip, father of Perseus, and the possession disputed with him by Eumenes.

The senate, imagining that Attalus would demand an audience, in order to speak in particular of his pretensions upon part of his brother's dominions, promised before to send ambassadors according to his demand, and make him prince the usual presents. They promised besides to put him into possession of the two cities, as he desired. But when it was known that he had left Rome, the senate, offended that he had done nothing they expected from him, and being able to be revenged upon him in any other manner, revoked the promise they had made him; and, before the prince was out of Italy, declared *Ænus* and *Maronea* free and independent cities. They sent however, an embassy to the Gauls, at the head of which was P. Licinius; but with very different instructions to those demanded by Attalus. The Roman policy took off the mask entirely at this time, and shewed an aspect very unlike the frankness and probity of their ancestors.

The senate some days (9) after gave audience to the Gauls, which made a great noise. They were at first not to be heard, as having rendered themselves unworthy of being heard.

(9) Polyb. Legat. xciii—xcix, c, & civ. Liv. l. xlv. a. 20—2

honour by their conduct, and even a declaration of war against them was talked of. Rhodes, alarmed at it, sent two new deputies. Having obtained admittance to the senate with great difficulty, they appeared there as suppliants, dressed in mourning habits, and with their faces bathed in their tears. Astymedes spoke, and with a voice interrupted with sighs, took upon him the defence of his unfortunate country. He took great care not to shew at first his desire to justify it. He knew, that it had justly incurred the anger of the Roman people; he confessed its faults; he called to mind the indiscreet embassy, which the insolent pride of the orator who spoke had rendered still more criminal: but he begged the senate to make some difference between the entire body of the nation, and a few private persons disavowed by them, and whom they were ready to deliver up. He represented, that there were no republick nor city, that did not include some bad members. That after all, there was no other crime objected to them but words; foolish indeed, rash, extravagant (which he confessed to be the characteristics and failings of his nation) but such as wise persons seldom lay much stress upon, or punish with exceeding rigour, no more than Jupiter aims his thunders at all that speak with little respect of his divinity. "But," said he, "the neutrality, observed by us in the late war, is looked upon as a certain proof of our enmity in regard to you. * Is there a tribunal in the world, wherein the intention, when without effect, is punished as the action itself? But let your severity be carried to that excess, at most the punishment can only fall on those who have had this intention, and then the majority of us are innocent. Admitting even that this neutrality and inaction make us all criminal; ought the real services we have rendered you, in the two preceding wars, to be deemed as nothing, and will they not cover the omission imputed to us in the last? Let Philip, Antiochus, and Perseus bear witness now in our cause. The voices of the two first will certainly be for us, and absolve us; and for the third, at most, and in the severest sense, the sentence must appear doubtful and uncertain. Can you then, according to this state of the question, pass a fatal decree against Rhodes; for you are now upon the point of deciding, whether it shall subsist any longer, or be entirely destroyed? You may declare war against us; but not a single Rhodian will take

" up

* Neque moribus neque legibus ullius civitatis ita comparatum esse, ut siquis vellet inimicum perire, si nihil fecerit quo id fiat, capitis damnetur. Liv.

" up arms against you. If you persist in your resentment
 " demand time to go and report our deputation, at R
 " and at that moment our whole city, men, women, a
 " persons, will embark, with all our estates and effect
 " will abandon our household gods, as well publick
 " vate, and come to Rome, where, after we have thro
 " gold and silver, and all we have, at your feet, we v
 " liver up ourselves, our wives and our children, to yo
 " cretion. We will suffer here before your eyes, wh
 " you shall think fit to inflict upon us. If Rhodes i
 " demned to be plundered and set on fire, at least w
 " spare ourselves the sight of that calamity. You n
 " your resolves declare yourselves our enemies; but t
 " a secret sense in the bottom of our hearts, that d
 " quite the contrary, and assures us, that whatever ho
 " you may act against us, you will never find us ot
 " than friends and servants."

After this discourse, the deputies prostrated the
 upon the earth, and held out their hands towards the s
 with olive branches in them, to demand peace. Wh
 were withdrawn, by order of the senate, they proceed
 vote upon the affair. All who had served in Macedo
 quality of consuls, prætors, or lieutenants, and w
 most experienced their foolish pride and enmity to the R
 were very much against them. M. Portius Cato, th
 brated censor, known by the severity of his character,
 often rose to hardness of heart, was softened at this t
 favour of the Rhodians, and spoke for them with great
 and eloquence. Livy does not repeat his discourse,
 it was then extant in a work of Cato's own, intitl
 Originibus, wherein he had inserted his *discourses*.

The world has reason to regret the loss of so val
 collection. Aulus Gellius (*r*) has preserved some fra
 of this discourse of Cato's; by which it appears, h
 use of almost the same reasons with the anal assadors of
 I shall cite some passages of it at the bottom of the p
 assist the reader in knowing and distinguishing the ma
 energical style, which characterized the Roman eloq
 those ancient times, when more attention was had to
 of thoughts, than to the eloquence of words.

Cato * begins his discourse by representing to the F

(*r*) Liv. l. vii. c. 5.

* Scio solere peritque hominibus | superbiam atque ferocia
 bus rebus secundis atque prorsus | scire atque crescere: q
 atque prosperis animum excellere, | nunc magnæ curæ est,

that they ought not to abandon themselves to the extravagance of excessive joy. That prosperity generally excites pride and insolence. That he apprehends, in the present case, they may form resolutions, which may draw some misfortune upon Rome, and cause the frivolous joy, to which they give themselves up, to vanish like a dream. "Adversity," says he, "in humbling the spirit, restores us to our reason, and teaches us what is necessary to be done. Prosperity, on the contrary, hurries us in a manner out of our way, by the joy it occasions, and makes us lose sight of the measures, which a calm situation of mind would enable us to discern, and execute. It is therefore, fathers, I am absolutely of opinion, that we should defer the decision of this affair, till having recovered from the violent emotions of our joy, we may be masters of ourselves, and capable of deliberating with more maturity." He adds, "That he indeed believes the Rhodians were far from desiring that the Romans should have conquered Perseus; but that they had such sentiments in common with all other states; sentiments, which did not proceed from their enmity to the Romans, but from the love of their own liberty; for which they had just cause to fear, when there should be none in a condition to dispute empire with us, and we should become absolute masters of all nations. For the rest the Rhodians did not aid Perseus. Their whole crime, by the consent of their most violent accusers, is to have intended to declare war against us. But how long has the will, the intention only, been a crime? Is there any one amongst us, that would be willing to subject himself to this rule? For my part, I am sure, I would not. The † Rhodians, it is said, are proud. I should be very sorry that my children could justly make me that reproach. But pray, in what does their pride affect us? Would it

" become

res tam secunde processit, nequid id consulendo adversi eveniat, quod nostras secundas res confutet; neve hæc lætitia nimis luxuriose eveniat. Adversæ res se docent, & docent quid opus sit factum: secundæ res lætitia trans erium trahere solent à recte consulendo, atque intelligendo. Quo majore opere edico suadeoque uti hæc non aliquot dies proferatur, dum ex tanto gaudio in potestatem nostram pervenimus.

• Qui accersime adversus eos di-

cit, ita dicit; hostes voluisse sciri. Et quis tandem est nostrum, qui, quod ad sese attinet, æquum ceceat quempiam penas dare ob eam rem, quod arguatur male facere voluisse? nemo opinor: nam ego, quod ad me attinet nolum.

† Rhodenses superbos esse aiunt, id obiectantes quod mihi à liberis meis minime decet velim. Sint sane superbi. Quid id ad nos attinet? Idne irascimini, si quis superbius est quam nos?

" become us to make it a crime in them to be prouder
 " we are ?"

The opinion of so grave and venerable a senator, as C prevented a war against the Rhodians. The answer g them did not declare them enemies, nor treat them as all but continued them in suspense. They were ordered to move their governors from the cities of Lycia and C Those provinces were given up to them after the defeat of tiochus, and now taken from them by way of punishm They were ordered also to evacuate Caunus and Straton They had bought the first for two hundred talents (a 25,000*l.*) of Ptolemy's general, and the second had l given them by Antiochus and Seleucus; they drew l those two cities an annual revenue of 120 talents (or 15,00 At the same time the senate granted the island of D an exemption from customs, which considerably d nished the revenues of the Rhodians. For instead of a mil of drachma's (about 25,000*l.* sterling) to which the venue from those customs amounted before, it paid afterw only 150,000 (about three thousand seven hundred and pounds sterling.)

The senate's answer, having dispelled at Rhodes the that the Romans would take arms against the republ made all other evils appear light, as it is common for expectation of great misfortunes to make people next to sensible of small ones. How hard soever those orders w they submitted to them, and put them in immediate ex tion. They decreed, at the same time, a crown of gold to Romans, of the value of * 10,000 pieces of gold, and c their admiral Theodotus to present it. He had orders to licit the alliance of the Romans. The Rhodians had not manded it till then, though for almost 140 years they shared in the most glorious expeditions of that republ which was a fetch of their politicks. They were not for h pering their liberty with the chains of oaths and treaties; continuing free, and their own masters, they might ei aid the kings in distress, or be supported by them upon cation. In the present conjuncture, they earnestly dem: ed to be admitted as allies, not to secure themselves ag: other powers, for they were in no apprehensions of any sides the Romans; but to remove, by that change, all f: cions that might have been conceived to the prejudice their republick. The alliance was not, however, gra

* This might amount to about 6000*l.* reckoning the piece of gold (χρυσίδις) twelve shillings, or thereabouts.

them at this time. They did not obtain it till the following year; nor then, without long and warm solicitations. Tibertius Gracchus, at his return from Asia, whither he had been sent in quality of commissioner, to examine into its condition, was of great service to them upon this occasion. He declared that the Rhodians had punctually obeyed the senate's orders, and had condemned the partisans of Perseus to death. After so favourable a report, the Rhodians were admitted into the alliance of the Roman people.

I have before observed, (1) that the Ætolians had presented themselves before Paulus Æmilius in mourning habits, at his return from his expedition into Greece, and that he had given them audience at Amphipolis. The subject of their complaints was, that Lyciscus and Tisippus, whom the credit of the Romans, to whose interests they were devoted, rendered very powerful in Ætolia, had surrounded the senate with soldiers, lent them by Bibius, who commanded in the province for the Romans; that they had put to death 550 of the principal persons of the nation, whose sole crime was, their having seemed to favour Perseus; that a great number of others had been sent into banishment, and that the estates both of the one and the other had been abandoned to their accusers. The enquiry was confined to knowing, not on which side the injustice and violence had been committed, but whether the parties concerned had been for Perseus or the Romans. The murderers were acquitted. The dead were declared to have been killed, and the exiles to have been banished, justly. Bibius only was condemned for having lent his aid in this bloody execution: but why condemned, if it was just? or, if not, why were those acquitted, who had been the principal authors of it?

This sentence gave great terror to all who had expressed any inclination for Perseus, and exceedingly increased the pride and insolence of the partisans of Rome. The principal persons of each city were divided into three factions. The one were entirely devoted to the Romans; others adhered to the party of the kings; both making their court to their protectors by abject flatteries, and thereby rendering themselves powerful in their cities, which they held in an oppressive subjection. A third kind of citizens, in opposition to the other two, observed a kind of medium, neither taking part with the Romans nor the kings; but publicly asserting the defence of their laws and liberty. The latter, at bottom, were much esteemed and beloved in their
several

(1) Liv. l. xlv. n. 28—32.

several cities; but were in no authority. All offices, en-
fies, honours, and rewards, were conferred solely upon
who espoused the Roman interest, after the defeat of Per-
and they employed their credit in utterly destroying all
who differed from themselves in opinion.

In this view they repaired in great numbers, from all
of Greece, to the ten commissioners, appointed by the
to regulate affairs. They gave them to understand, that
sides those who had declared publicly for Perseus, there
abundance of others, secretly the enemies of Rome, who
der the colour of asserting liberty, influenced the whole
against them, and that those cities would never continue
and perfectly subject to the Romans, unless, after the con-
party were entirely reduced, the authority of those, who
only the interest of the commonwealth at heart, was
established. The ten commissioners perfectly relished
reasons, and made them the rule of their conduct. No
justice could be expected from an assembly that was deter-
to consider, and treat all as criminals, who were not of
Roman party, and to reward all that should declare them-
their accusers and enemies, with abundant graces and
vours. We see here to what lengths ambition and the lu-
empire carry mankind. They make men blind to all
of duty and decency, and induce them to sacrifice ju-
as well as every thing else, when it opposes their views.
virtue of the Pagans was but a weak, and very fluctu-
principle.

That appears evidently upon this occasion. The Ro-
general, to whom a list had been given of all those who
suspected, ordered them to attend him from Ætolia, A-
nania, Epirus, and Bœotia, and to follow him to Rome
there to make their defence. Commissioners were sent
into Asia, in order to take informations against such as
publick or private, had favoured Perseus.

Of all the small states of Greece (1), none gave the Ro-
republick so much umbrage as the Achæan league, which
till then had continued formidable by the number and
of their troops, by the ability of their generals, and, in-
all, by the union that reigned between all the cities of
it was composed. The Romans, jealous of a power
might prove an obstacle to their ambitious designs, espe-
if they should join the king of Macedonia, or the king
Syria, spared no pains to weaken it, by introducing divi-

(1) A. M. 3837. Ant. J. C. 167. Liv. l. xlv. n. 31. Pau-
Achaic. p. 416, 417.

ining creatures, whom they raised by their credit to ployments, and by whose means they decided in all embles of the league. We have seen what passed in air of the Spartan exiles. But it was in the conjuncture now speak of, the Romans gave the last stroke to liberty.

er the defeat of Perseus, Callicrates, to complete with omans, to whom he had sold himself, the ruin of the ns of liberty, whom he looked upon as his enemies, e boldness to accuse by name all those to the ten comers, whom he suspected to have had any inclination to t Perseus. They did not think it would suffice to write Achæans, as they had done to other states, that they send such of their citizens to Rome, as were accused: ing favoured Perseus; but they sent two deputies to den person that order to the league. Two reasons induem to act in this manner. The first was, their fear ie Achæans, who were very jealous of their liberty, and f valour, should refuse obedience to the letters that be wrote them; and that Callicrates, and the other ers, would run the risque of their lives in the assembly: cond, because in the letters, which had been found, st Perseus's papers, nothing appeared to convict the d Achæans.

two commissioners sent into Achaia, were C. Claud and Cn. Domitius Enobarbus. One of them, more oned to injustice than the other, (Pausanias does not hich) complained in the assembly, that many of the powerful persons of the league had assisted Perseus against omans, and demanded, that they should be condemned, erving death, after which he should name them. The assembly was shocked at this proposal, and cried out on s, that it was an unheard-of thing to condemn perefore it was declared who they were, and pressed him ke known the guilty. Upon repeated instances to exhimself, he replied, at the suggestion of Callicrates, ll who had been in office, and commanded the armies, ndered themselves guilty of that crime. Xeon, upon who was a person of great credit, and very much red by the league, spoke to this effect: "I have comaded the armies, and have had the honour to be the sf magistrate of the league; I protest, that I have never d in any thing contrary to the interests of the Romans, ch I am ready to prove either in the assembly of the izans, or at Rome before the senate." The Roman

question. Livy, in his account of this affair, omits the abject submissions of Prusias; of which he pretends the Roman historians say nothing: he contents himself with mentioning, in the conclusion, part of what Polybius had said before, and with some reason. For that base deportment at least dishonoured the senate as much, who suffered, as the prince who acted it.

Prusias had scarce left Rome (c), when advice came, that Eumenes was upon the point of entering it. That news gave the senate some trouble. Eumenes, in the war against Perseus, had behaved in such a manner, that they could neither continue him as a friend or an enemy. There was reason for violent suspicions; but no certain proofs against him. To admit him to an audience, was to declare him innocent: to condemn him as guilty, was to lay themselves under the necessity of a war with him; and to proclaim to all the world, that they had failed in point of prudence, by loading a prince with fortunes and honours, whose character they were little acquainted with. To avoid these inconveniencies, the senate made a decree, by which, under the pretext that the reception of kings was too great a charge to the republick, they forbid all kings in general to enter the city, and caused that ordinance to be signified to the king of Pergamus, who was at no loss to comprehend its meaning. He returned therefore into his own dominions.

This affront encouraged his enemies, (d) and cooled the affection of his allies. Prusias sent an ambassador to Rome to complain of the irruptions he made into Bithynia. He added, that Eumenes held secret intelligence with Antiochus, that he treated all those injuriously who seemed to favour the Romans, and particularly the Gallo-Grecians his neighbours in contradiction to the senate's decrees in their behalf. The people had also sent deputies to Rome with their complaints, which they afterwards repeated several times, as well as Prusias. The senate did not yet declare themselves. They contented themselves with aiding and supporting the Gallo-Grecians underhand, to the utmost of their power, without doing any manifest injustice to Eumenes.

The king of Pergamus, who had been forbidden entrance into Rome, sent his brothers, Attalus and Athenæus, thither to answer the accusations he was charged with. The apology they made seemed finally to confute all complaints against the king, and the senate were so well satisfied with it, that they

(c) Polyb. Legat. xcvi. (d) A. M. 3839. Ant. J. C. 169.
Polyb. Legat. xcvi, cii, civ, cv, cvi, cxix, cxxi.

sent them back into Asia, laden with honours and pre-

They did not, however, entirely efface the prejudices
 ived against their brother. The senate dispatched Sulpi-
 Gallus and Manius Sergius, with orders to inform them-
 secretly, whether Antiochus and Eumenes were not
 rting some design against the Romans.

picius (*e*) acted in this commission with very great im-
 nce. He was a vain man, and aimed at appearing im-
 nt, by declaring against Eumenes. When he arrived in
 he caused all the cities to be informed, that such as had
 omplaints to make in regard to that prince, might repair
 n at Sardis. And there for ten days he hearkened quiet-
 all the accusations people thought fit to form against Eu-
 s: a liberty that set all malcontents at work, and open-
 floor for all manner of calumnies!

Tiberius Gracchus, whom the senate sent the following
 into Asia upon the same account, was received by Eu-
 s and Antiochus in a manner which convinced him there
 nothing to fear from those two kings, and induced him
 ke his report to the senate accordingly. He gave as
 rable an account of the conduct of Ariarathes, king of
 adocia, who had married the sister of Eumenes. That
 e died some time after. His son Ariarathes, (*g*), sur-
 d Philopator, succeeded him. He had him by Antio-
 the daughter of Antiochus the Great, and intended,
 he came to age, to resign his kingdom to him, to
 h his son would never consent; from whence he was
 d *Philopator*, that is, *lover of his father*. An action
 y laudable, in an age wherein it was no uncommon
 ; to acquire kingdoms by parricide.

soon as the young king ascended the throne (*h*), he
 leputies to Rome, to demand that the treaty his father
 made with the Romans should be renewed, which was
 ed him, with praises.

me time after, (*i*) notwithstanding Eumenes aided him
 all his forces, he was dethroned by Demetrius, king of
 , and one of his elder brothers set in his place; who was
 posed son, named Holofernes. (*k*) Ariarathes took refuge
 ant. The usurper and Demetrius sent their ambassadors
 thither. The senate decreed, that the two brothers
 d reign jointly. It was a policy sufficiently frequent
 in VII.

K

with

Polyb. in Excerpt. Valer. p. 145.

(*f*) A. M. 3840. Ant.

264. (*g*) A. M. 3842. Ant. J. C. 162. Diod. Eleg. p. 895.

Polyb. Legat. cxli.

(*i*) A. M. 3845. Ant. J. C. 159.

Legat. cxvii.

(*k*) A. M. 3847. Ant. J. C. 157.

with the Romans to divide kingdoms between br in order to weaken them by that partition, and fo seeds of an eternal division between them. Attalus, first year of his reign, re-established him in the sole sion of the throne, having conquered and expelled hi petitor.

Eumenes was always suspected by the Romans, and continually at war with Prusias, or the Gallo-Grecian died at length, after having reigned thirty-eight * He left for his successor (1) in the kingdom, his son A surnamed Philometer, then an infant, whom he h Stratonice, sister of Ariarathes, and appointed gu of his son, and regent of his kingdom, his brother lus Philadelphus, who governed the kingdom one-and ty years.

Polybius bestows great praises on Eumenes. The b that prince, says he, was weak and delicate, his soul and abounding with the most noble sentiments. Hi place to none of the kings (m) his contemporaries in other qualities, and excelled them all in the nobleness inclinations. The kingdom of Pergamus, when he it from his father, consisted only of a very small num cities, which scarce deserved that name. He render powerful, that it might have disputed pre-eminenc almost all the greatest kingdoms. He owed nothing eit chance or fortune; still using the words of Polybius. thing was the result of his prudence, labour, and a From his fondness for true glory, he did more good to C and enriched more private persons, than any prince finish his character, he possessed so fully the art of en the respect of his three brothers, and of keeping them bounds by his authority, without letting them perce that though they were all of age and capacity to uni for themselves, and shared with him in the functions sovereignty, they never failed in point of submission, b tinued always in perfect union, and with equal zeal service, assisted him in defending and aggrandizing the dom. It would be difficult to find such an exam authority over bothers, joined with unalterable conce union.

I

(1) Strab. l. xiii. p. 624.

(m) Polyb. Exempt. Virt

p 166.

* Strabo says, he reigned forty-three years, but that is presum an error.

ought not to omit one thing in this place, which does honour to the memory of Eumenes; that is, his having founded the famous library of Pergamus, or, at least, considerably augmented it: but I shall speak of that here.

The division (*ny*) which had almost perpetually subsisted between Prusias and Eumenes, continued under Attalus, who succeeded the latter. Prusias, having been victorious in a war, entered Pergamus, and, violently enraged and afflicted that he had failed of seizing Attalus, let fall the weight of his revenge upon the statues and temples of the gods; burning and destroying all before him in his march. (*o*) Attalus sent his brother Athenæus to Rome, to implore aid of the senate, who sent several embassies at different times to forbid Prusias to continue the war against Attalus; but he eluded their orders, either by delays or even treachery, having once accepted, under pretence of an interview, to seize the Roman ambassador and Attalus. His design was discovered, and the execution of it prevented; but his crime was not the less upon record. Rome at other times would have punished it by the destruction of his kingdom. At this she was contented with sending ten commissioners, with instructions to put an end to this war, and to oblige Prusias to make Attalus satisfaction for the damages he had done him. Attalus, however, with the aid of his allies, had assembled numerous troops both by sea and land. All things were prepared for beginning the campaign, when news came, that the commissioners were arrived. Attalus joined them. After some conferences upon the present affair, they set out for Bithynia, where they declared to Prusias the orders they were charged with from the senate. That prince was willing to accept of the conditions prescribed him; but refused to comply with most of the rest. The commissioners, exasperated at rejecting them, broke the alliance and amity with him, refusing immediately their rout to Pergamus, lest Prusias in terrible apprehensions. They advised Attalus to march with his army upon the frontiers of his kingdom, without being the first to commit hostilities; and some of them were sent to Rome, to inform the senate of the rebellion of Prusias. At length he opened his eyes, and new commissioners from Rome obliged him to lay down his arms, and to accept of a treaty of peace, which they presented him. This treaty stipulated, that Prusias should give immediately twenty deckt

K 2

ships

(*A. M.* 3848. *Ant. J. C.* 156. *Polyb.* Legat. cxxviii, cxxix, cxxx, cxxxi, cxxxvi. (*o*) *A. M.* 3849. *Ant. J. C.* 155.

ships to Attalus; that he should pay him 500 talents (500,000 crowns) in the space of twenty years; and that the two kings should keep within the bounds of their dominions, such as stood before the war; that Prusias, in reparation of the damages he had done upon the lands of some neighbouring cities, which were named, should pay them an 100 talent (an 100,000 crowns.) When he had accepted and signed these conditions, Attalus drew off his troops both by sea and land into his own kingdom. In this manner ended the war, occasioned by the differences between Attalus and Prusias.

Attalus the younger, (p) son of Eumenes, when the peace was concluded between the two states, made a voyage to Rome; in order to make himself known to the senate, demand the continuance of their amity, and, without doubt to thank them also for the protection they had granted his uncle, who reigned in his name. He received from the senate all the marks of favour he could have expected, and all the honours suitable to his years; after which he set out for his dominions.

Prusias (q) also sent afterwards his son Nicomedes to Rome and knowing that he was highly considered there, he gave him instructions to demand, that the senate would remit him the remainder of the sum he was to pay to Attalus. He joined Menas with him in this embassy, to whom he had given secret orders to dispatch the young prince, in order to advance his children by a second wife. The favour demanded by Prusias was refused, Attalus's ambassadors demonstrating, that the whole sum was far from being equal to the loss his master had sustained from him. Menas, instead of executing the horrid commission he was charged with, discovered the whole to Nicomedes. (r) The young prince having quitted Rome to return into Bithynia, thought it incumbent on him to prevent the murderous designs of his father. Supported by the assistance of Attalus, he revolted against him, and drew over the greatest part of the people into his party for Prusias was universally hated for his oppressions and cruelties. That unfortunate prince, abandoned by all his subjects took refuge in a temple, where he was slain by soldiers sent by Nicomedes, or, according to some, by Nicomedes himself. What horrors on each side! Prusias was called *the last*

(p) Polyb. Legat. cxi.

Appian, in Mithridat. p. 175.

Ant. J. C. 148.

(q) A. M. 3855.

Justin, l. xxiv. c. 4.

Ant. J. C. 148.

Ant. J. C. 148.

(r) A. M. 3855.

Ant. J. C. 148.

ad reigned at least fix-and-thirty years. It was with him
ibal had taken refuge.

is king of Bithynia's person (*s*) had nothing in it to
lice people in his favour; nor was his mind more to his
tage. He was in size but half a man, and a mere wo-
is to valour and bravery. He was not only timorous,
ft, and incapable of fatigue; in a word, equally effe-
e in body and mind; defects by no means amiable in a
and most of all, amongst the Bithynians. Polite learn-
philosophy, and all liberal knowledge, were entirely
n to him. In short, he had no manner of idea of the
and good, the noble and the elegant. Night and day
ed a true Sardanapalus. So that his subjects, upon the
lawn of hope, joined with the utmost ardour in mea-
against him, and to punish him in the same manner he
overned them.

ave deferred speaking of two embassies, which arrived
me very near the same time.

e one came from the Athenians, who having been con-
ed by a sentence passed on them by the Sicyonians (*t*),
nder the authority of the Roman senate, in a fine of 500
s, for having laid waste the lands of the city of Oropus,
o demand the remission of that fine. The ambassadors
three celebrated philosophers; Carneades, of the sect
Academicks; Diogenes, of the Stoicks; and Critolaus,
e Peripateticks. The taste for eloquence and philosophy
ot yet made its way so far as Rome; it was about the
of which we are speaking, that it began to spread there,
he reputation of these three philosophers did not a little
ibute to it. The young people of Rome, who had any
for the sciences, made it their honour and amusement to
hem, and were struck with admiration in hearing them,
ially Carneades, whose lively and graceful eloquence, in
solidity and ornament exalted each other, transported
enchanted them. It was universally talked, that a Greek
extraordinary merit was arrived, who from his great
ledge was more than man, and who, in calming and
ing the most violent passions by his eloquence, inspired
a with a kind of love, which made them renounce all
pleasures and employments, to abandon themselves
ly to philosophy. He had for his auditors all the most
derable persons of Rome. His discourses, translated
Latin by one of the senators, were in all hands. All

K 3

Rome

Rome saw, with great joy, their c apply them
to the Grecian learning, and insepa : in those wor
ful men, Cato only seemed sorry for it; a prehending,
this taste for polite learning would extinguish that
military knowledge; and that they would prefer the glo
speaking, to that of acting well. The example of the se
Scipio Africanus, educated at the same time under the
of Polybius, in a taste for the sciences, demonstrates he
founded that prejudice of Cato's was. However it
he warmly reproached the senators for keeping the sa
sadors so long in the city, and having caused the affair
brought them thither to be dispatched, he hastened their
parture. By a decree of the senate, the fine in which
had been condemned, was moderated, and the 500 ta
reduced to 100.

The other embassy was sent by the (u) people of Marse
They had already been often harassed by the Ligurians,
at the time of which we now speak, they were reduced to
last extremities, and sent ambassadors to Rome, to implor
of the senate. They came to a resolution to send deputi
the Ligurians, to incline them to sentiments of peace
equity by the method of amity and negotiation. Such-
du& made them only the more haughty, and they ca
their insolence so far as to offer indignities to the depe
and to violate the law of nations in their persons. Thes
being informed of this unhappy affair, made the ce
Quintius Opimius march immediately against them wit
army. He laid siege to the city (x) where the insult
been offered to the Roman ambassadors, took it by st
made slaves of the inhabitants, and sent the principal set
of the affront bound and fettered to Rome, to be puni
there according to their deserts. The Ligurians were
and cut to pieces in several battles. The victor distribut
the conquered lands amongst the people of Marseilles.
ordered the Ligurians to send hostages to Marseilles, w
were to be exchanged for others from time to time; in
to lay a curb upon them, and prevent them from mole
the people of Marseilles, as they had done till then.

Rome had always held the people of Marseilles in ext
consideration, founded upon their extraordinary merit,
the inviolable fidelity with which they had constantly ad
to the party of the Romans. They were by origin (y)
Phocæa, a city of Ionia. When Xerxes sent Harpag
be

(u) Polyb. Legat. cxxxi. & cxxxiv.
1. i. c. 164. Justin. l. xliii. c. 3.

(x) *Egina.*

(y) H

besiege it, the inhabitants, rather than submit to the yoke of the Barbarians, as so many others had done, embarked with their wives and children, and all their effects, and after various adventures, having cast a mass of red-hot iron into the sea, they all engaged themselves by oath never to return to Phocæa, till that iron should swim upon the water. Afterwards, having landed upon the coast of Gaul, near the mouth of the Rhone, they settled there, by the consent of the king of the country, and built a city since called Marseilles. This foundation is said to have been made in the reign of Tarquinius Priscus, about the second year of the forty-fifth Olympiad, and 600 years before the birth of Jesus Christ.

The king, who had received them into his dominions with great goodness, being dead, his son (*x*) did not shew them so much favour. The growing power of their city gave him umbrage. He was made to understand, that those strangers, whom he had received into his country, as guests and suppliants, might one day make themselves masters of it by right of conquest. The fable of the bitch was made use of upon this occasion, that asked her companion to lend her her house only for eight days, till she had brought forth her whelps; when by great intreaties obtained a second term to bring them up; and at last, when they were grown large and strong, made herself absolute mistress and proprietor of the place, from whence she could never afterwards be expelled. The Marseillians had, in consequence, at first a rude war upon their hands; but having been victorious, they continued in quiet possession of the lands that had been granted them, within the bounds of which they were not long confined.

In process of time they settled several (*a*) colonies, and built several cities; Agde, Nice, Antibæ, Olbia; which much extended their territory, and augmented their power. They had ports, arsenals, and fleets, that rendered them formidable to their enemies.

So many new settlements (*b*) contributed to the spreading of the Greeks in Gaul, and occasioned a wonderful change in them. The Gauls, quitting their ancient rusticity by degrees, began to be civilized, and to assume more gentle manners. Instead of breathing nothing but war, they accustomed themselves to the observance of the laws of a wise government. They learnt to improve their lands, to cultivate vines, and

K 4

to

(*x*) Justin. l. xliii. c. 4.
l. xliii. c. 4.

(*a*) Strab. p. 180.

(*b*) Justin.

to plant olives*. Hence so surprizing an alteration ensued, as well in the provinces as the people who inhabited them, that it might have been said, Greece was not come to Gaul, but Gaul had been changed into Greece.

The (c) inhabitants of the new city made very wise laws for its polity and government, which was aristocratical, that is to say, in the hands of the elders. The council of the city was composed of 600 senators, who continued in that function during life. Of that number 15 were elected to take care of the current affairs, and three to preside in the assemblies, in quality of principal magistrates.

The right of hospitality (d) was in singular estimation amongst the Marseillians, and practised by them with the most exalted humanity. To maintain the security of the asylum they gave to strangers, no person was suffered to enter the city with arms. Certain persons were placed at the gates, whose business it was to take care of the arms of all who came in, and to return them when they went out.

All entrance was barred to such as might have been for introducing sloth and a voluptuous life; and particular care was taken to banish all double-dealing, falsehood, and fraud.

They piqued themselves (e) especially upon sobriety, modesty, and frugality. The most considerable portion amongst them did not exceed 100 pieces of gold, that is to say, very near 100 pistoles. They were not allowed to lay out more than five in dress, and as many in jewels. Valerius Maximus (f), who lived in the reign of Tiberius, admires the regulations of government observed at Marseilles in his time. "That city," says he, "steadfastly retaining the ancient severity of manners, excluded from their theatre those comedians whose pieces generally turn upon the subject of unlawful love." The reason given for this maxim is still finer and more remarkable than the maxim itself. "Left" adds the author, "a familiarity with such sort of shows should make the people more apt to imitate them."

They would not admit in funeral ceremonies those indecent tears and lamentations, with which they are generally attended, and ordered them to cease the same day by a domestic sacrifice,

(c) Strab. l. iv. p. 179.
l. iv. p. 181.

(d) Val. Max. l. ii. c. 6.

(e) Strab.

(f) Lib. ii. c. 6.

* Adeo magnus & hominibus & rebus impositus est nitor, ut non Græcia in Galliam emigrasse, sed Gallia in Græciam translata videatur. *J. fin.*

† Eadem civitas severitatis custes

acerrima est: nullum aditum in scenam mimis dando, quæram argumenta majore ex parte stuporem continent actus, ne talia spectantis consuetudo etiam imitandi licentiam sumat.

te, and an entertainment for the friends and relations deceased". "For is it consistent to abandon ourselves immoderate affliction, or to be offended at the Divinity, not having thought fit to share his immortality with

itus has a passage upon the city of Marseilles highly in life; it is in his life of Julius Agricola his father-in-law, having spoken of the excellent education he had received from the care and tender affection of † Julia Procilla, other, a lady of extraordinary virtue, who made him in his most early years of his youth in the study of those arts and sciences that suited his birth and age; he adds, "What preserved him from the dangers and disorders, to which youth is generally exposed, was, besides his own genius and disposition, the good fortune of having from infancy the city of Marseilles for his school, in the manner of whose inhabitants the politeness of the Greeks, the simplicity and reserve of the provinces were happily united." *Arcebat eum ab illecebris peccantium, præter bonam integramque naturam, quod statim parvulus sedem ac ram studiorum Massiliam habuerit, locum Græcæ civitate provinciali parsimonia mistum ac bene compositum.*

In what I have said may be seen, that Marseilles was become a celebrated school for politeness, wisdom, and virtue, at the same time, for all arts and sciences. Eloquence, philosophy, physick, mathematicks, law, fabulous theology, all kinds of literature, were publicly professed there. The city produced (g) the most ancient of the learned men

Well; I mean Pytheas, an excellent geographer and astronomer, who lived in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus, and of Alexander the Great.

He persevered constantly in cultivating the arts and sciences with equal ardour and success. Strabo relates, that in his time (he lived in the reign of Augustus) the young nobility came to Marseilles for education; and he prefers access to the city of Athens itself; which is saying a great deal.

We have already seen, that it retained that privilege of time of Tacitus the historian.

K 5

The

(g) Voss. in Histor. Græc.

nim quid attinet, aut honoris indulgeri, aut divitiarum invidiam fieri, quod inestem suam nobiscum partiri?

† Mater Julia Procilla fuit raræ castitatis. In hujus sinu indulgentiaque educatus, per omnem honestarum artium cultum, pueritiam adolescentiamque transegit. Tacit. in Agricola. c. iv.

The Marseillians distinguished themselves less by the wisdom of their government, than by their civility and taste for learning. Cicero, in one of his orations, exceedingly magnifies their manner of governing their republic: "I am assured," says he, "that not only in Greece, but all other nations, there is nothing comparable to the wise polity established at Marseilles. That city, so remote from the country, manners, and language of all other Greeks, situate in Gaul, in the midst of barbarous nations that surround it on all sides, is so prudently directed by the counsels of its elders, that it is more easy to praise, than imitate, the wisdom of its government."

They laid it down as a fundamental (*b*) rule of their politics, from which they never departed, to adhere inviolably to the Romans, to whose manners their own were more conformable, than to those of the Barbarians around them. Besides which, their neighbourhood to the Ligurians, of whom they were equally enemies, could not but contribute to unite them by their common interests; that union enabling each party to make powerful diversions on both sides of the Alps. They accordingly rendered the Romans great services at all times, and also received considerable aids from them upon many occasions.

Justin (*i*) relates a fact, which would be very much to the honour of the Marseillians, if it were well confirmed. Having received advice, that the Gauls had taken and burnt Rome, they deplored that disaster of their allies, as much as if it had happened to their own city. Nor did they content themselves to fruitless tears. Out of the gold and silver, either of the publick or private persons, they raised the sum in which the Gauls had taxed the conquered, as the price of peace, and sent it to Rome. The (*k*) Romans, infinitely affected with so noble an act of generosity, granted Marseilles the privilege of immunity, and the right of sitting amongst the senators at the publick shows. It is certain, that during the war with Hannibal, Marseilles aided the Romans with all manner of good offices; the ill successes which they experienced

(*b*) Strab. l. iv. p. 280.

(*i*) Justin. l. xliii. c. 5.

(*k*) Liv.

l. xxi. n. 20, 25, 26. Lib. xxvi. n. 19. Lib. xxvii. n. 36.

* Cujus ego civitatis disciplinam atque gravitatem, non solum Græciæ, sed haud scio an cunctis gentibus, anteponendam jure dicam: quæ tam procul a Græcorum omnium regionibus, disciplinis, linguæque divisa, cum in ultimis

erris cincta Gallorum gentibus, barbariæ fluctibus aljuatur, se optimatum consilio gubernatur et omnes ejus instituta laudare satius possint, quam simulacri. Cum pro Flacco, n. lxiil.

rienced in the first years of the war, and which had deprived them of almost all their allies, not being capable of shaking their fidelity in the least.

In the civil war between Cæsar and Pompey, that city observed a conduct which well denotes the wisdom of its government. Cæsar, (1) against whom they had shut their gates, caused the fifteen senators, who were in supreme authority, to come to his camp, and represented to them, that he was sorry the war should begin by attacking their city; that they ought rather to submit to the authority of all Italy, than to abandon themselves blindly to the desires of one man; and he added all the motives most capable of persuading them. After having made their report to the senate, they returned into the camp, and gave Cæsar this answer: * That they knew the Roman people were divided into two parties: that it did not belong to them to determine which had the right on their side: that the two heads of those parties were equally the protectors of their city; and at the same time its friends and benefactors. That for this reason, obliged to express their gratitude alike for both, it was incumbent upon them neither to assist, nor receive the one into their city or ports to the prejudice of the other. They (m) suffered a long siege, in which they shewed all possible valour; but, at length, the extreme necessity, to which they were reduced by the want of every thing, obliged them to surrender. However enraged Cæsar was at so obstinate a resistance, he could not refuse to the ancient reputation of the city, the favour of saving it from being plundered, and of preserving its citizens.

I should have believed myself wanting in some measure to the glory of the French nation, and to that of a city which holds one of the highest ranks in the kingdom, if I had not collected in this place part of those favourable reports antiquity makes of it. I hope the reader will pardon this digression; which besides comes into my plan, and is part of the Grecian history.

The affairs of Greece, Bithynia, Pergamus, and some other countries, which I thought it necessary to treat in a series, and without interruption, have made me suspend those of Macedonia, Syria, and Egypt; to which it is now time to return. I shall begin with Macedonia.

K 6

SECT.

(1) Cæs. in Bel. Civ. l. i.

* Intelligere se divisum esse populum in partes duas: neque sui iudicii, neque suarum virium discernere utra pars iustiores habeat causas: principes vero earum esse partium Cn. Pompeium, & C. Cæs.

(m) Cæs. in Bel. Civ. l. ii.

sorem patronos civitatis.—Paribus eorum beneficiis parem se quoque voluntatem tribuere debere, & neutrum eorum contra alterum juvare, aut urbe aut portibus recipere,

SECT. III. ANDRISCUS, *who gave himself out for the son of PERSEUS, makes himself master of Macedonia, and causes himself to be proclaimed king. The prætor JUVENTIUS attacks him, and is killed in the battle with part of his army. METELLUS, who succeeds him, retrieves that loss. The usurper is overbrowed, taken, and sent to Rome. A second and third usurper are also defeated.*

FIFTEEN or sixteen years (*n*) after the defeat and death of Perseus, Andriſcus of Adramytta, a city of Troas, in Asia Minor, a person of the meanest birth, giving himself out for the son of Perseus, took upon him the name of Philip, and entered Macedonia, in hopes of making the inhabitants of the country acknowledge him for their king. He had invented a story in regard to his birth, which he reported wherever he passed, pretending that he was the son of Perseus by a concubine, and that the prince his father had caused him to be secretly brought up at Adramytta, that in case of a fortune in the war against the Romans, some shoot of the royal line might remain. That after the death of Perseus, he had been nurtured and brought up at Adramytta, till he was twelve years of age, and that the person who passed for his father, finding himself at the point of death, had revealed the secret to his wife, and entrusted her with a writing, signed by Perseus with his own hand, which attested all that has been said; which writing she was to deliver to him (Philip) as soon as he should attain to years of discretion. He added, that her husband having conjured her absolutely to conceal the affair till then, she had been most faithful in keeping the secret, and had delivered that important writing to him at the appointed time: pressing him to quit the country, before the report should reach the ears of Eumenes, the declared enemy of Perseus, lest he should cause him to be put to death. He was in hopes that he should be believed upon his own word, and make Macedonia rise in his favour. When he saw that all continued quiet, he retired into Syria, to the court of Demetrius Soter, whose sister Perseus had espoused. That prince, who immediately perceived the fraud, caused him to be seized and sent to Rome.

As he did not produce any proof of his pretended nobility, and had nothing in his mien or manners that expressed the prince, no great notice was taken of him at Rome, and he was treated

(*n*) A. M. 3852. Ant. J. C. 152. Epit. Liv. l. xlviii.—1. Zonæ-
x Dione, l. i, c. 11. Florus, l. ii. c. 14.

ated with great contempt, without much trouble to keep a strict guard upon him, or to confine him close. He took the advantage of the negligence of his guards, and made his escape from Rome. Having found means to raise a considerable army amongst the Thracians, who entered into his views, for the sake of delivering themselves by his means from the Roman yoke, he made himself master of Macedonia, either by consent or force, and assumed the marks of the royal dignity. Not content with this first conquest, which had cost him little, he attacked Thessaly, and subjected a part of it to his obedience.

The affair then began to seem more important to the Romans. They elected Scipio Nasica to go thither, and appease the tumult in its birth, deeming him well qualified for that commission. He had, indeed, the art of managing men's minds, and of bringing them into his measures by persuasion; and, if he should find it necessary to decide this affair by arms, he was very capable of forming a project with wisdom, and executing it with valour. As soon as he arrived in Greece, and had been fully informed of the state of affairs in Macedonia and Thessaly, he gave the senate advice of them; and, without loss of time, visited the cities of the allies, in order to the immediate raising of troops for the defence of Thessaly. The Thacians, who continued at that time the most powerful people of Greece, supplied him with the greatest number, forgetting past subjects of discontent. He presently took from the false Philip all the places he had possessed himself of in Thessaly, and drove him back into Macedonia.

(c) However, it is well known at Rome from Scipio's letters, that Macedonia had occasion for a speedy support. The prætor, P. Juventius Thalna, had orders to repair thither as soon as possible with an army, which he did without loss of time. But looking upon Andriscus as only a pageant king, he did not think it incumbent upon him to take any great precautions against him, and engaged precipitately in a battle, wherein he lost his life, with part of his army; the rest saving themselves only by favour of the night. The victor, elated with this success, and believing his authority sufficiently established, abandoned himself to his vicious inclinations, without any moderation or reserve; as if the being truly a king consisted in knowing no law nor rule of conduct, but his passions. He was covetous, proud, insolent and cruel. Nothing was seen every where but violence, confiscations of estates, and murders. Taking the advantage of the terror occasioned by the

the

the defeat of the Roman army, he soon recovered all he had lost in Thessaly. An embassy sent to him from the Carthaginians, who were at that time actually at war with the Romans, very much augmented his courage.

Q. Cæcilius Metellus, lately elected prætor, had succeeded Juventius. Andriſcus had resolved to advance to meet him, but did not think it proper to remove far from the sea, and halted at Pydna, where he fortified his camp. The Roman prætor soon followed him. The two armies were in view of each other, and skirmished every day. Andriſcus gained an advantage sufficiently considerable in a small combat of the cavalry. Success generally blinds and proves fatal to people of little experience. Andriſcus, believing himself superior to the Romans, sent off a great detachment to defend his conquests in Thessaly. This was a gross error; and Metellus, whose vigilance nothing escaped, did not fail to take the advantage of it. The army that remained in Macedonia was beat, and Andriſcus obliged to fly. He retired amongst the Thracians, from whom he returned soon after with another army. He was so rash as to hazard another battle, which was still less successful than the former. He had above 25,000 men killed in these two battles; and nothing was wanting to the Roman glory, but to seize Andriſcus, who had taken refuge with a petty king of Thrace, to whose fidelity he had abandoned himself. But the Thracians did not stand much upon breach of faith, and made that the means to their interest. That prince delivered up his guest and suppliant into the hands of Metellus, to avoid drawing upon himself the wrath and arms of the Romans: Andriſcus was sent to Rome.

Another adventurer, who also called himself the son of Perſeus, and took upon him the name of Alexander, had the same fate with the first, except being seized by Metellus: he retired into Dardania, where he effectually concealed himself.

It was at this time Macedonia was entirely subjected to the Romans, and reduced into a province.

A third usurper, some years after, appeared again, and set himself up as the son of Perſeus, under the name of Philip. His pretended royalty was but of short duration. He was overcome, and killed in Macedonia by Tremellius, afterward surnamed *Scrofa*, from having said that he would disperse the enemy, *ut Scrofa Porcos*.

SECT. IV. *Troubles in Achaia; which declares war against the Lacedæmonians. METELLUS sends deputies to Corinth to appease those troubles; they are ill used and insulted. METELLUS, after having exhorted them ineffectually to peace, gives them battle, and defeats them. The consul MUMMIUS succeeds him, and after having gained a battle, takes Corinth, sets it on fire, and entirely demolishes it. Greece is reduced into a Roman province. Various actions and death of POLYBIUS. Triumphs of METELLUS and MUMMIUS.*

METELLUS, (p) after having pacified Macedonia, continued there some time. Great commotions had arose amongst the Achæans of the league, occasioned by the emery and avarice of those who held the first offices. The resolutions of their assemblies were no longer guided by reason, prudence, and equity, but by the interest and passions of the magistrates, and the blind caprice of an untractable multitude. The Achæan league and Sparta had sent ambassadors to Rome, upon an affair about which they were divided. Damocritus, notwithstanding, who was the supreme magistrate of the Achæans, had caused war to be declared against Sparta. Metellus had sent to desire that hostilities might cease, till the arrival of the commissioners from Rome, who were appointed for terminating their differences. But neither he, nor Diæus, who succeeded him, paid any regard to that request. Both of them entered Laconia with their troops, and laid waste the country.

The commissioners being arrived, the assembly was summoned to Corinth; (Aurelius Orestes was at the head of the commission.) The senate had given them orders to weaken the body of the league; and for that end, to separate as many cities as they could from it. Orestes notified to the assembly the decree of the senate; whereby Sparta, Corinth, Argos, Heraclea near mount Oeta, and Orchomenos of Arcadia, were secluded from the league, under pretence, that those cities did not originally compose a part of the body of the Achæans. When the deputies quitted the assembly, and reported this decree to the multitude, they grew furious, and fell upon all the Lacedæmonians they found in Corinth; tore those out of the house of the commissioners who had taken refuge there; and would have treated themselves no better, had they not escaped their violence by flight.

Orestes

(p) A. M. 3857. Ant. J. C. 147. Pausan. in Achaic. p. 421-428. Polyb. Legat. cxliii, cxliv. Id. in Excerpt. de Virt. & Vit. p. 181-189. Justin. l. xxiv, c. 1. Flor. l. ii, c. 16.

Orestes and his colleagues, on their return to Rome, gave an account of what had passed. The senate was highly incensed at it, and immediately deputed Julius, with some other commissioners, into Achaia; but instructed them to complain with moderation, and only to exhort the Achæans not to give ear to bad counsels, lest by their imprudence they should incur disgrace with the Romans; a misfortune it was in their power to avoid, by punishing those who had exposed them to it. Carthage was not yet taken, so that it was necessary to act with caution in regard to allies so powerful as the Achæans. The commissioners met on their way a deputy sent by the sedition to Rome: they carried him back with them to Egium, where the diet of the nation had been summoned to assemble. They spoke in it with great moderation and kindness. They did not let slip a single word in their discourse concerning the ill treatment of the commissioners, or excused it better than the Achæans themselves would have done; and were as reserved in regard to the cities they had been for separating from the league. They confined themselves to exhorting them not to aggravate their first fault, nor to irritate the Romans any farther; and to leave Lacedæmonia in peace. Such moderate remonstrances were extremely agreeable to all the persons of sense in the assembly. But Diaus, Critolaus, and their faction, all chosen out of the vilest, most impious, and most pernicious persons in each city, blew up the flame of discord, insinuating, that the lenity of the Romans proceeded only from the bad condition of their affairs in Africa, where they had been worsted in several engagements, and from the fear they were in, lest the Achæan league should declare against them.

The commissioners, however, were treated with sufficient deference. They were told, that Thearidas should be sent to Rome; that they had only to repair to Tégæ*, to treat with the Lacedæmonians, and to incline them to peace. They went thither accordingly, and persuaded the Lacedæmonians to an accommodation with the Achæans, and to suspend all hostilities, till new commissioners should arrive from Rome to pacify all differences. But Critolaus's cabal took their measures in such a manner, that nobody, except the magistrate, went to the congress; and he did not arrive till he was almost no longer expected. Conferences were had with the Lacedæmonians; but Critolaus would not come into any measures. He said, that he was not empowered to decide any thing without the consent of the nation, and that he would

* A city on the banks of the Eurotas.

report the affair in the general diet, which could not be moved in less than six months. That bad stratagem, or breach of faith, exceedingly offended Julius. After he dismissed the Lacedæmonians, he set out for Rome, he described Critolaus as a violent and extravagant

commissioners were no sooner out of Peloponnesus, Critolaus ran from city to city during the whole winter, summoned assemblies, under colour of communicating what had been said to the Lacedæmonians in the conferences at Tégæa, but, in fact, to vent invectives against the Romans, and to put an odious construction upon all they had said in order to inspire the same spirit of animosity and aver- sion which he himself had against them; and he only succeeded in this. He, besides, prohibited all judges from prosecuting or imprisoning any Achæan for debt, till the conclusion of the war between the diet and Lacedæmon. By that means, Critolaus, as he said, had all the effect he desired, and disposed the Achæans to receive such orders as he thought fit to give them. Incapable of forming right judgments of the future, they offered themselves to be caught with the bait of the first advantage he proposed to them.

Critolaus, having received advice in Macedonia of the success of the Romans in Peloponnesus, deputed thither four Romans of his own nation, who arrived at Corinth at the time the council assembled there. They spoke in it with abundance of authority; exhorting the Achæans not to draw upon them-

selves by imprudent rashness and levity, the resentment of the Romans. They were treated with contempt, and ignominiously turned out of the assembly. An innumerable crowd of soldiers and artificers rose about them, and insulted them. The cities of Achaia were at that time in a kind of delirium; Corinth was far more frantick than the rest, and abandoned to a kind of madness. They had been persuaded, that the Romans intended to enslave them all, and absolutely to destroy the Achæan league.

Critolaus, seeing with pleasure that every thing succeeded according to his wishes; harangued the multitude, enflamed them against the magistrates who did not enter into his views; flew out against the ambassadors themselves; animated them against the Romans; and made them to understand, that it was not without previous measures he had undertaken to make head against the Romans; that he had kings in his party; and that the Romans were also ready to join it. By these seditious discourses he prevailed to have war declared against the Lacedæ-

monians,

monians, and, in consequence, indirectly against the Romans. The ambassadors then separated. One of them repaired to Lacedæmon, to observe the motions of the enemy; another set out for Naupactus; and two waited the arrival of Metellus at Athens.

The magistrate of the Bœotians, whose name was Pytheas, equally rash and violent with Critolaus, entered into his measures, and engaged the Bœotians to join their arms with those of the Achæans; they were discontented with a sentence Rome had given against them. The city of Chalcis suffered itself also to be drawn into their party. The Achæans, with feeble aids, believed themselves in a condition to support the weight of the Roman power; so much were they blinded by their rage and fury.

(9) The Romans had chosen Mummius for one of the consuls, and charged him with the Achæan war. Metellus, to deprive him of the glory of terminating this war, sent ambassadors to the Achæans, with promises, that the Roman people should forget all that had passed, and pardon their faults, if they would return to their duty, and consent that certain cities, which had been proposed before, should be dismembered from the league. This proposal was rejected with disdain. Upon which Metellus advanced with his troops against the rebels. He came up with them near the city of Scaphæa in Locris, and obtained a considerable victory over them, in which he took more than 1000 prisoners. Critolaus disappeared in the battle, without its being known what became of him. It was supposed, that in the flight he had fallen into the marshes, and been drowned. Dioxus took up his command in his stead, gave liberty to the slaves, and armed all the Achæans and Arcadians capable of bearing arms. That body of troops amounted to 14000 foot, and 600 horse. He gave orders besides for the raising of troops in every city. The exhausted cities were in the utmost desolation. Many private persons, reduced to despair, laid violent hands upon themselves: others abandoned an unhappy country, when they foresaw their destruction was inevitable. Notwithstanding the extremity of these misfortunes, they had no thought of taking the only measures that could prevent them. They detested the rashness of their chiefs, and nevertheless came into their measures.

Metellus, after the battle before mentioned, fell in with 1000 Arcadians in Bœotia, near Cheronæa, who were endeavouring to return into their own country; these were all put

he sword. From thence he marched with his victorious army to Thebes, which he found almost entirely deserted. Moved with the deplorable condition of that city, he ordered the temples and houses should be spared; and that none of the inhabitants, either in the city or country, should be made prisoners, or put to death. He excepted from that number Pytheas, the author of all their miseries, who was brought to him, and put to death. From Thebes, after having taken Megara, the garrison of which had retired upon his approach, he made his troops march to Corinth, where he had shut himself up. He sent thither three of the principal persons of the league, who had taken refuge with him, to exhort the Achæans to return to their duty, and accept the conditions of peace offered them. Metellus ardently wished to terminate the affair before the arrival of Mummius. The inhabitants, on their side, were equally desirous of seeing an end of their misfortunes; but that was not in their power, Dionysius of Dixus disposing of every thing. The deputies were thrown into prison, and would have been put to death, had not Dionysius had not seen the multitude extremely enraged at the punishment he had inflicted upon Solicrates, who talked of surrendering to the Romans. The prisoners were therefore released.

Things were in this condition, when Mummius arrived. He had hastened his march, from the fear of finding every thing pacified at his arrival; and lest another should have the glory of concluding this war. Metellus resigned the command to him, and returned into Macedonia. When Mummius had assembled all his troops, he advanced to the city, and encamped before it. A body of his advanced guard being negligent of duty upon their post, the besieged made a sally, attacked them vigorously, killed many, and pursued the rest to the entrance of their camp. This small advantage much encouraged the Achæans, and thereby proved fatal to them. Dionysius offered the consul battle. The latter, to prevent his rashness, kept his troops within the camp, as if he had prevented him from accepting it. The joy and presumption of the Achæans rose to an inexpressible height. They advanced furiously with all their troops, having placed their men and children upon the neighbouring eminences, to be spectators of the battle, and caused a great number of chariots to follow them to be laden with the booty they should take from the enemy; so fully did they assure themselves of victory.

Never

Never was there a more rash or ill-founded confidence. The faction had removed from the service and counsel such as were capable of commanding the troops, or conducting affairs, and had substituted others in their room, without either talents or ability; in order to their being more absolutely masters of the government, and ruling without opposition. The chief, without military knowledge, valour, or experience, had no other merit than a blind and frantick rage. They had already committed an excess of folly in hazarding a battle, which was to decide their fate, without necessity of thinking of a long and brave defence in so favourable a place as Corinth, and of obtaining good conditions by a glorious resistance. The battle was fought near * Leucophaea and the defile of the Isthmus. The consul had posted his horse in an ambuscade, which they quitted at a proper time, for charging the Achæan cavalry in flank; who, surprized by an unforeseen attack, gave way immediately. The infantry made a little more resistance; but as it was neither covered nor sustained by the horse, it was soon broken and put to flight. If Diæus had retired into the place, he might have held it some time, and obtained an honourable capitulation from Mummius, whose sole aim was to put an end to the war. But abandoning himself to his despair, he rode full speed to Megalopolis his country; and having entered his house, set fire to it, killed his wife, to prevent her falling into the hands of the enemy, drank poison, and in this manner put an end to his life, worthy of the many crimes he had committed.

After this defeat, the inhabitants lost all hope of defending themselves. As they found they were without counsel, leaders, courage, or views, nobody had any thoughts of rallying the wrecks of the army, in order to make any farther resistance; and oblige the victor to grant them some supportable conditions. So that all the Achæans who had retired into Corinth and most of the citizens, quitted it the following night, and saved themselves where they could. The consul having entered the city, abandoned it to be plundered by the soldiers. All the men who were left in it, were put to the sword, and the women and children sold; and after the statues, paintings, and richest moveables, were removed, in order to their being carried to Rome, the houses were set on fire, and the whole city continued universally in flames for several days. From that time the Corinthian brass became more famous than ever, though it had been in reputation long before.

* This place is not known.

extended, that the gold, silver, and brass, which was
1, and ran together in this conflagration, formed a new
precious metal. The walls were afterwards demo-
, and razed to their very foundations. All this
executed by order of the senate, to punish the in-
e of the Corinthians, who had violated the law of
is in their treatment of the ambassadors sent to them
ome.

us was Corinth ruined, the same year Carthage was
and destroyed by the Romans, 952 years after its found-
by Aletes, the son of Hippotes, sixth in descent from
les. It does not appear that they had any thoughts of
new troops for the defence of the country, or summon-
y assembly to deliberate upon the measures it was neces-
sary to take; nor that any one took upon him to propose any
y for the public calamities, or endeavoured to appease
omans, by sending deputies to implore their clemency.
ould have thought from this general inactivity, that
chæan league had been entirely buried in the ruins of
th; so much had the dreadful destruction of that city
ed, and universally dismayed the people.

cities that had joined in the revolt of the Achæans,
also punished by the demolition of their walls, and by
disarmed. The ten commissioners, sent by the senate to
ste the affairs of Greece, in conjunction with the consul,
hed popular government in all the cities, and established
brates in them, who were to have a certain revenue out
of public funds. In other respects, they were left in
sion of their laws and liberty. They abolished also all
general assemblies held by the Achæans, Bœotians,
eans, and other people of Greece; but they were re-esta-
d soon after. Greece, from that time, was reduced
Roman province, called the province of Achaia; be-
at the taking of Corinth, the Achæans were the most
ful people of Greece; the Roman people sent a prætor
r every year to govern it.

me, by destroying Corinth in this manner, thought pro-
to shew that example of severity, in order to deter others,
its too great clemency rendered bold, rash and presuming,
the hope they had of obtaining the Roman people's par-
don for their faults. Besides which, the advantageous situa-
of that city, where such as revolted might canton them-
, and make it a place of arms against the Romans, de-
termined

terminated them to ruin it entirely. * Cicero, who did disapprove of Carthage and Numantia's being in that manner, could have wished that Corinth been spared.

The booty taken at Corinth was sold, and considerable sums raised from it. Amongst the paintings there was a piece drawn by the most celebrated † hand in Greece (r) representing Bacchus, the beauty of which was known to the Romans, who were at that time entirely ignorant in the polite arts. Polybius, who was then in that country, as I shall soon observe, had the mortification to see that painting serve the soldiers for a table to play dice upon. It was adjudged to Attalus, in the sale of the booty, for 600,000 sesterces, that is, about 36 sterling. Pliny mentions another picture of the same painter's, which the same Attalus purchased for an hundred talents, or an 100,000 crowns. That prince's riches were immense, and were become a proverb: *Attalicis conditionibus*. Nevertheless these sums seem repugnant to probability. However it were, the consul, surprized that the price of the painting in question should rise so high, interposed his authority and retained it contrary to publick faith, and notwithstanding the complaints of Attalus; because he imagined there was some hidden virtue in the piece, unknown to him. He did not act in that manner for his private interest, nor with a view of appropriating it to himself, as he sent it to Rome to be applied in adorning the city. In doing which, Cicero, he adorned and embellished his house much more essentially, than if he had placed that picture in it. The taking of the richest and most opulent city of Greece did not enrich him one farthing. Such noble disinterestedness was at that time common in Rome, and seemed less the virtue of private persons, than of the age itself. To take the ad-

(r) Strab. l. viii. p. 381. Plin. l. vii. c. 38. & l. xxv. c. 4. & c.

* *Majores nostri*—Carthaginem & Numantiam funditus subulerunt. Sed credo illos secutos opportunitatem loci maximè, ne posset aliquando ad bellum faciendum locus ipse adhortari. *Cic. de Offic. l. i. n. 35.*

† *This painter was called Aristides. The picture mentioned here, was in such estimation, that it was commonly said, All paintings are nothing in comparison to the Bacchus.*

† *Numquid Lucius Mummius copiosior, cum copiosissimam urbem funditus subulisset? Immo ornare, quam deperire suam, sult. Quamquam Italia ex domo ipsa mihi videtur ornari. Laus abstinentiæ non hominibus solum, sed etiam temporibus—Habere quæstui remp. non est turpe est, sed scelgratum etiam nectarium. Cic. de off. l. i. n. 76, 77.*

e of office and command for enriching a man's self, was only shameful and infamous, but a criminal abuse. The thing we speak of, was set up in the temple of Ceres, either the judges went to see it out of curiosity, as a masterpiece of art; and it remained there till it was burnt with the temple.

Mummius was a great warrior, and an excellent man, but neither learning, knowledge of arts, nor taste for painting or sculpture; the merit of which he did not distinguish; not seeing there was any difference between picture and sculpture, or statue and statue, nor that the name of the great masters in those arts gave them their value. This he fully shewn upon the present occasion. * He had ordered his sons to take care of transporting many of the paintings and statues of the most excellent masters to Rome. Never had been so irreparable, as that of such a deposit, consisting of the master-pieces of those rare artists, who contributed almost as much as the great captains, to the rendering of our age glorious to posterity. Mummius, however, in recommending the care of that precious collection to those to whom he confided them, threatened them very seriously, that the statues, paintings, and other things, with which he charged them, should be either lost, or spoiled upon the journey, he would oblige them to find others at their own cost and charges.

Were it not to be wished, says an historian, who has preserved us this fact, that this happy ignorance still subsisted; it would not such a grossness be infinitely preferable, in regard to the publick good, to the exceeding delicacy of the taste of the present age for such sort of rarities? He spoke at a time when that taste for excellent paintings amongst the Romans, was the occasion of their committing all manner of frauds and robberies in the provinces.

I have said that Polybius, on returning into Peloponnesus, witnessed the affliction to see the destruction and burning of Corinth and his country reduced into a province of the Roman empire. If any thing was capable of giving him consolation in so mournful a conjuncture, it was the opportunity of defend-

(*) Polyb. in Excerpt. p. 190—192.

* Mummius tam rudis fuit, ut post Corinthi, cum maximorum artificum perfectas manibus tabulas et statuas in Italiam portandas locaret, juberet prædici conducentibus, si eas perdiderint, novas eas addituras. Non tamen puto dubites,

Vinici, quin magis pro republica fuerit, manere adhuc rudem Corinthiorum intellectum quam in tantam eam intelligi; & quin hac prudentiâ illa imprudentia decori publico fuerit convenientior. *Vell. Patere*, l. i. n. 13.

defending the memory of Philopœmen, his m in the science of war. I have already observed, the Roman, having taken it into his head to have the st erected to that hero taken down, had the imprudence to secute him criminally, as if he had been still alive, and accuse him before Mummius, of having been an enemy to Romans, and of having always opposed their designs to utmost of his power. That accusation was extravagant, had some colour in it, and was not entirely without foundation. Polybius boldly took upon him his defence. He presented Philopœmen as the greatest captain Greece produced in the latter times; that he might, perhaps, carried his zeal for the liberty of his country a little too but that he had rendered the Roman people considerable services upon several occasions; as in their wars against tiachus and the Ætolians. The commissioners before w he pleaded so noble a cause, moved with his reasons, and more with his gratitude for his master, decreed, that statues of Philopœmen should continue as they were in places. Polybius, taking the advantage of Mummius's disposition, demanded also the statues of Aratus and Ach which were granted him, though they had already carried out of Peloponnesus into Acarnania. The Ach were so charmed with the zeal Polybius had expressed on this occasion for the honour of the great men of his country that they erected a statue of marble to himself.

He gave at the same time a proof of his disinterested which did him as much honour amongst his citizens, as defence of the memory of Philopœmen. After the destruction of Corinth, it was thought proper to punish the authors of the insult done to the Roman ambassadors, and their estates and effects were sold by auction. When those of D were put up, who had been the principal in that affront, ten commissioners ordered the quæstor who sold them, to Polybius take whatever he thought fit out of them, without taking any thing from him upon that account. He refused that offer, as advantageous as it appeared, and should thought himself in some measure an accomplice of wretch's crimes, had he accepted any part of his fortune beside which, he believed it infamous to enrich himself on the spoils of his fellow citizen. He would not only acquiesce in nothing himself, but exhorted his friends not to desire anything of what had appertained to Dæmus; and all that followed his example were extremely applauded.

This action made the commissioners⁽¹⁾ conceive so high an esteem for Polybius, that, upon their leaving Greece, they desired him to go to all the cities which had been lately conquered, and to accommodate their differences, till time had accustomed them to the change which had been made, and to the new laws prescribed them. Polybius discharged that honourable commission with so much goodness, justice, and prudence, that no farther contests arose in Achaia, either in regard to the government in general, or the affairs of particulars. In gratitude for so great a benefit, statues were erected to him in different places; upon the base of one of which was this inscription; *That Greece had been guilty of no errors, if she had hearkened from the first to the counsels of Polybius; but that, after her faults, he alone had been her deliverer.*

Polybius, after having established order and tranquillity in his country, returned to join Scipio at Rome, from whence he accompanied him to Numantia, at the siege of which he was present. When Scipio was dead, he returned into Greece; and having enjoyed there ^(u) the esteem, gratitude, and affection of his beloved citizens, he died at the age of fourscore and two years, of a wound he received by a fall from his horse.

Metellus, upon his return to Rome, was honoured with a triumph, as conqueror of Macedonia and Achaia, and surnamed Macedonicus. The false king, Andriscus, was led before his chariot. Amongst the spoils, he caused what was called the troop of Alexander the Great, to be carried in the procession. That prince, at the battle of the Granicus, having lost five-and-twenty of his friends, ordered Lysippus, the most excellent artist in that way, to make each of them an equestrian statue, to which he added his own. These statues were set up in Dium, a city of Macedonia. Metellus caused them to be transported to Rome, and adorned his triumph with them.

Mummius obtained also the honour of a triumph, and, in consequence of having conquered Achaia, was surnamed Achaicus. He exhibited a great number of statues and paintings in his triumphs, which were afterwards made the ornaments of the publick buildings at Rome, and of several other cities of Italy; but not one of them entered the conqueror's own house.

(1) Polyb. in Excerpt. p. 190, &c. (u) Lucian. in Macrob. p. 142.

SECT. V. *Reflections upon the causes of the grandeur, decline, and ruin of Greece.*

AFTER having seen the final ruin of Greece, which supplied us through a series of so many ages with such fine examples of heroic virtues and memorable events, we may be admitted to return to the place from whence we began, and consider, by way of abridgment, and at one view, the rise, progress, and declension of the principal states, which compose it. Their whole duration may be divided into four ages.

The first and second ages of Greece.

I shall not dwell upon the ancient origin of the Greeks, nor the fabulous times before the Trojan war, which make the first age, and may be called the infancy of Greece.

The second age, which extends from the taking of Troy to the reign of Darius I. king of Persia, was in a manner its youth. In those early years it formed, fortified, prepared itself for those great things it was afterwards to act, and laid the foundations of that power and glory, which at length rose so high, and became the admiration of a future ages.

The Greeks, as Monsieur (x) Bossuet observes, who by their naturally abundance of wit, had been cultivated by their colonies which came from Egypt, who settling in several parts of the country, spread universally the excellent polity of the Egyptians. It was from them they learned the exercises of the body, wrestling, the horse, foot, and chariot races, and the other combats, which they carried to the highest perfection, in effect of the glorious crowns given to the victors in the Olympick games. But the best thing taught them by the Egyptians, was to be docile and obedient, to suffer themselves to be formed by laws for the good of the publick. They were not private persons, who regard not but their own interests and concerns, and have no sense of the calamities of the state, but as they suffer themselves, so the repose of their own family is involved in them. The Greeks were taught to consider themselves and their families as part of the greater body, which was that of the state. Their fathers brought up their children in this opinion; and their

(x) *Universal History.*

ren were taught from their cradle, to look upon their
try as their common mother, to whom they more strictly
retained than to their parents.

he Greeks, instituted thus by degrees, believed they
capable of governing for themselves, and most of the
formed themselves into republicks, under different
s of government, which had all of them liberty for their
principle; but that liberty was wise, reasonable, and
rvient to laws. The advantage of this government was,
the citizens loved their country the better from transacting
affairs in common, and from being all equally capable
s honours and dignities. Besides this, the condition of
ite persons, to which all returned when they quitted
loyments, prevented them from abusing an authority,
which they might soon be deprived; whereas power
becomes haughty, unjust, and oppressive, when un-
no restraints, and when it is to have a long or conti-
duration.

he love of labour removed the vices and passions, which
rally occasion the ruin of states. They led a laborious
busy life, intent upon the cultivation of lands and of
and not excluding the husbandman or the artist from the
dignities of the state; preserving between all the citizens
members of the state a great equality, void of pomp,
ry, or ostentation. He, who had commanded the army
one year, fought the next in the rank of a private officer,
was not ashamed of the most common functions either in
armies by land or sea.

he reigning character in all the cities of Greece, was a
icular affection for poverty, the mean of fortune, simpli-
in buildings, moveables, dress, equipage, domesticks,
table. It is surprizing to consider the small retributions
which they were satisfied for their application in pub-
employments, and services rendered the state.

hat might not be expected from a people formed in this
ner, educated and nurtured in these principles, and
ed from their earliest infancy with maxims so proper to
t the soul, and to inspire it with great and noble senti-
ts? The effects exceeded all idea, and all hope that could
bly have been conceived of them.

The third age of Greece.

he now come to the glorious times of Greece, which
been, and will for ever be, the admiration of all ages.

The merit and virtue of the Greeks, shut up within the pafs of their cities, had but faintly dawned, and shone but a feeble ray till this age. To produce and place th their full light, some great and important occasion was : fary, wherein Greece, attacked by a formidable enemy exposed to extreme dangers, was compelled in some m to quit her home, and to shew herself abroad in open such as she was. And this was supplied by the Persia their invasions of Greece, first under Darius, and after under Xerxes. All Asia, armed with the whole force east, overflowed on a sudden, like an impetuous torrent came pouring with innumerable troops, both by sea and against a little spot of Greece, which seemed under the ne of being entirely swallowed up and overwhelmed at th shock. Two small cities, however, Sparta and Athens only resist those formidable armies, but attack, defeat, sue, and destroy the greatest part of them. Let the 1 call to mind, which is all I have here in view, the pro of valour and fortitude, which shone out at that time continued to do so long after on like occasions. To were the Greeks indebted for such astonishing success much above all probability, unless to the principles I mentioned, which were profoundly engraven in their l by education, example, and practice; and were becom long habit a second nature in them?

Those principles, we cannot repeat it too often, we love of poverty, contempt of riches, disregard of self interest, attention to the publick good, desire of glory, for their country; but above all, such a zeal for liberty, and no danger was capable of intimidating, and such an irreconcilable abhorrence for whoever conceived the least th against it, as united their counsels, and put an end to all dissension and discord in a moment.

There was some difference between the republicks authority and power, but none in regard to liberty; on side they were perfectly equal. The states of ancient Greece were exempt from that ambition which occasions so wars in monarchies, and had no thoughts of aggrand themselves, or of making conquests, at the expence of other. They confined themselves to the cultivation, improvement, and defence of, but did not endeavour to usurp thing from, their neighbours. The weaker cities, in peaceable possession of their territory, did not apprehend invasion from the more powerful. This occasioned si multitude of cities, republicks and states of Greece, 1

led to the latest times in a perfect independence, retaining their own forms of government, with the laws, customs, usages derived from their forefathers.

When we examine with some attention the conduct of these people, either at home or abroad, their assemblies, deliberations, and motives for the resolutions they take, we cannot but justly admire the wisdom of their government; and we are tempted to demand of ourselves, from whence could arise the greatness of soul in the burghers of Sparta and Athens; and these noble sentiments, this consummate wisdom in councils, this profound and universal knowledge in the arts, whether for the invention and construction of machines for the attack and defence of places, or the drawing up and singling all the motions of an army in battle; add to this, the supreme ability in maritime affairs, which always rendered their fleets victorious, which so gloriously acquired them the empire of the sea, and obliged the Persians to renounce it by a solemn treaty?

We see here a remarkable difference between the Greeks and Romans. The latter, immediately after their conquests, allowed themselves to be corrupted by pride and luxury. Antiochus had submitted to the Roman yoke, Asia, subdued by their victorious arms, conquered its conquerors in licentiousness and voluptuousness; and that change of manners was very sudden and rapid, especially after Carthage, the mighty rival of Rome, was destroyed. It was not so with the Greeks. Nothing was more exalted than the victories they had gained over the Persians; nothing more soothing the glory they had acquired by their great and illustrious successes. After so glorious a period, the Greeks long persisted in the same love of simplicity, frugality, and poverty; the same remoteness from pomp and luxury; the same zeal and ardour for the defence of their liberty, and the preservation of their ancient manners. It is well known how much islands and provinces of Asia Minor, over which the Greeks so often triumphed, were abandoned to effeminacy, dissipation, and luxury: they, however, never suffered themselves to be infected by that contagious softness, and constantly preserved themselves from the vices of conquered people. It is true, they did not make those countries provinces, but commerce and example alone might have proved very dangerous to them.

The introduction of gold and silver into Sparta, from whence they were banished under severe penalties, did not take till about fourscore years after the battle of Salamis,

and the ancient simplicity of manners subsisted very long afterwards, notwithstanding that violation of the laws of Lycurgus. As much may be said of the rest of Greece, which did not grow weak and degenerate, but slowly and by degrees. This is what it remains to shew:

The fourth age of Greece.

The principal cause of the weakening and declension of the Greeks, was the disunion which rose up amongst themselves. The Persians, who had found them invincible on the side of arms, as long as their union subsisted, applied whole attention and policy in sowing the seeds of dissension amongst them. For that reason they employed their gold and silver, which succeeded much better than their steel and had done before. The Greeks, attacked invisibly in this manner by bribes secretly conveyed into the hands of those who had the greatest share in their governments, were divided by domestick jealousies, and turned their victorious arms against themselves, which had rendered them superior to their enemies.

Their decline of power from these causes gave Philip of Macedon opportunity to subject them. Those princes accuse them to servitude the more agreeable, could their design with avenging them upon their ancient enemies. The Greeks gave blindly into that gross snare, which gave a mortal blow to their liberty. Their avengers became fatal to them than their enemies. The yoke imposed on them by the hands which had conquered the universe, could not be removed; those little stages were no longer in a condition to shake it off. Greece, from time to time animated by the remembrance of its ancient glory, roused from its lethargy, and made some attempts to reinstate itself in its freedom; but those efforts were ill concerted, and as ill supported by its expiring liberty, and tended only to augment its weakness; because the protectors, whom it called in to its aid, soon made themselves its masters. So that all it did was to change its fetters, and to make them the heavier.

The Romans at length totally subjected it; but it was not by degrees, and with abundance of artifice. As they continually pushed on their conquests from province to province, they perceived, that they should find a barrier to their ambitious projects in Macedonia, formidable by its neighbourhood, its advantageous situation, reputation in arms, and very powerful in itself, and by its allies. The Romans artfully appli

the small states of Greece, from whom they had less to fear, and endeavoured to gain them by the attractive charms of liberty, which was their darling passion, and of which they knew how to awaken in them their ancient ideas. After having with great address made use of the Greeks to reduce and destroy the Macedonian power, they subjected all those states one after another under various pretexts, Greece was thus swallowed up at last in the Roman empire, and became a province of it, under the name of Achaia.

It did not lose with its power (*y*) that ardent passion for liberty, which was its peculiar character. The Romans, when they reduced it into a province, reserved to the people almost all their privileges; and Sylla (*z*), who punished them so cruelly sixty years after, for having favoured the arms of Mithridates, did not abridge those of their liberty, who escaped his vengeance. In the civil wars of Italy, the Athenians were seen to espouse with warmth the party of Pompey, (*a*) who fought for the republick. Julius Cæsar revenged himself upon them no otherwise than by declaring, that he pardoned them out of consideration for their ancestors. But, after Cæsar was killed, their inclination for liberty made them forget his clemency. They erected statues to Brutus and Cassius near those of Harmodius and Aristogiton, the ancient deliverers of Athens, and did not take them down till solicited by Antony, when become their friend, benefactor, and magistrate.

After having been deprived of their ancient power, they still retained another sovereignty, which the Romans could not take from them, and to which themselves were obliged to pay homage. Athens continued always the metropolis of the sciences, the school of polite arts, and the center and standard of refined taste in all the productions of the mind. Several cities, as Byzantium, Cæsarea, Alexandria, Ephesus, and Rhodes, shared that glory with Athens, and by its example opened schools which became very famous. Rome, all haughty as she was, acknowledged this glorious empire. She sent her most illustrious citizens to be finished and refined in Greece. They were instructed there in all the parts of sound philosophy, the knowledge of mathematicks, the science of natural things, the rules of manners and duties, the art of reasoning with justice and method: all the treasures of eloquence were imbibed there, and the method taught of

L 4

treating

(*y*) Strab. l. ix.
p. 191. & l. xlvii. p. 39.

(*z*) Plut. in Sylla.

(*a*) Diod. l. xliii.

treating the greatest subjects, with propriety, force, and perspicuity.

A Cicero, already the admiration of the bar, conc wanted something, and did not blush to become the of the great masters Greece then produced. Pompey midst of his glorious conquests, did not think it a di to him, in passing Rhodes, to hear the celebrated philo who taught there with great reputation, and to make in some measure their disciple.

Nothing shews better the respect retained for the reputation of Greece, than a letter of Pliny (*b*) the Y He writer in this manner to Maximus appointed gov that province by Trajan. " Call to mind, my dear M " that you are going into Achaia, the true Greece, th " Greece where learning and the polite arts had thei " where even agriculture was invented, according " common opinion. Remember, that you are sent to " free cities and free men, if ever any such there wer " by their virtues, actions, alliances, treaties, and r " have known how to preserve the liberty they receive " nature. Revere the gods their founders; respect t " roes, the ancient glory of their nation, and the " antiquity of their cities, the dignity, great explo " even fables and vanity of that people. Remembe " from those sources that we have derived our law; t " did not impose our laws upon them, after we had c " ed them, but that they gave us theirs, at our requ " fore they were acquainted with the power of our ar " a word, it is to Athens you are going; it is at Laci " you are to command. It would be inhuman and ba " to deprive them of that faint image, that shadow " they retain of their ancient liberty."

Whilst the Roman empire was declining, that en genius, of the mind, always supported itself, without cipating in the revolutions of the other. Greece was ed to for education and improvement from all parts world. In the fourth and fifth centuries, those grea of the church, St. Basil, St. Gregory Nazianzen, St. J. Chrysostom, went to Athens to imbibe, as their sou the profane sciences. The emperors themselves (c) could not go to Greece, brought Greece in a manner them, by receiving the most celebrated philosophers in palaces, in order to their being intrusted with the ed of their children, and to improve themselves by their instr

(*b*) Lib. viii. c. 24.
Verus, &c.

(*c*) Tit. Antonius. M. Aurelius

Marcus Aurelius, even whilst he was emperor, went to hear the philosophers Apollonius and Sextus, and to take lessons from them as a common disciple.

By a new kind of victory, unknown before Greece had imposed its laws on Egypt and the whole East, from whence she had expelled barbarism, and introduced a taste for the arts and sciences in its room; obliging, by a kind of right of conquest, all those nations to receive her language and adopt her customs: a testimonial highly for the glory of a people, and which argues a much more illustrious superiority, than that not founded in merit, but solely upon the force of arms. Plutarch observes somewhere, that no Greek ever thought of learning Latin, and that a Roman who did not understand Greek was in no great estimation.

ARTICLE III.

It seems, that after the subjection of Macedonia and Greece to the Romans, our history, confined for the future to two principal kingdoms, those of Egypt and Syria, should become more clear and intelligible than ever. I am, however, obliged to own, that it will be more obscure and perplexed than it has been hitherto, especially in regard to the kingdom of Syria, in which several kings not only succeeded one another in a short space, but sometimes reign jointly, and, at the same time, to the number of three or four, which occasions a confusion difficult to unravel, and from which I find it hard to extricate myself. This induces me to prefix in this place the names, succession, and duration of the reigns of the kings of Egypt and Syria. This small chronological abridgment may contribute to cast some light upon facts, which are exceedingly complex, and serve as a clue to guide the reader in a kind of labyrinth, where the most clear-sighted will have occasion for assistance. It enlarges the work a little, but it may be passed over, and recourse be only had to it, when it is necessary to be set right: I insert it here only with that view.

This third article contains the space of 100 years for the kingdom of Egypt, from the twentieth year of Ptolemy Philometor, to the expulsion of Ptolemy Auletes from the throne; that is, from the year of the world 3845, to 3946.

As to the kingdom of Syria, the same article contains almost the space of an hundred years from Antiochus Eupator to Antiochus Asiaticus, under whom Syria became a province of the Roman empire; that is, from the year of the world three thousand eight hundred and forty, to the year three thousand nine hundred and thir-

No. nine

SECT. I. *A chronological abridgement of the history of the*.A.M. **KINGS OF EGYPT.**

3824. **PTOLEMY PHILOMETOR.** He reigned something more than thirty four years. This article contains only fourteen years of his reign.

Differences between Philometor and his brother Evergetes, or Physcon.

3859. **PTOLEMY EVERGETES,** otherwise called Physcon, brother of Philometor, ascends the throne, and marries Cleopatra, Philometor's wife.

Physcon

of Egypt and Syria, as mentioned in the third Article.

KINGS OF SYRIA.

A.M.

ANTIOCHUS EUPATOR, aged nine years, succeeds 3840.
 after Antiochus Epiphanes. He reigns only two

DEMETRIUS SOTER, son of Seleucus Philopator, 3842.
 having escaped from Rome, ascends the throne.

He, under the name of Alexander, giving himself 3851.
 for the son of Antiochus Epiphanes, seizes the
 throne of Syria. He is supported by the Romans.

Demetrius is killed in a battle. He had reigned
 five years.

ALEXANDER BALA. He reigns almost five years. 3859.

Antiochus Philometor declares against him in favour
 of Demetrius Nicator, son of Demetrius Soter.

DEMETRIUS Nicator.

ANTIOCHUS THEOS, son 3859.
 of Bala, supported by Try- 3860.
 phon, seizes part of the
 kingdom.

DIODOTES TRYPHON, 3861.
 after having got rid of his
 pupil Antiochus, ascends
 the throne.

Demetrius marches against
 the Parthians, who
 make him prisoner, and
 kill him. He had
 reigned seven years.

3863.

ANTIOCHUS SIDETES, 3864.
 brother of Demetrius, after
 having overthrown Try-
 phon, and put him to
 death, is declared king.
 Cleopatra, Demetrius's
 wife, marries him.

A.M. KINGS OF EGYPT.

3874. Physcon expels Cleopatra his wife, and marries her daughter, named also Cleopatra.

He is reduced to fly. The Alexandrians restore the government to Cleopatra his first wife.

3877. Physcon re-ascends the throne.

3887. Death of Physcon. He had reigned twenty-two years.

PTOLEMY LATHYRUS, or SOTER, succeeds Physcon.

Cleopatra, his mother, obliges him to repudiate Cleopatra, his eldest sister; and marry Selene, his youngest sister.

Cleopatra gives the kingdom of Cyprus to Alexander her youngest son.

KINGS OF SYRIA.

A. M.

Antiochus Sidetes marches against the Parthians. 3873.
 The Parthians send back Demetrius into Syria. Antiochus is slain. 3874.

Demetrius Nicator reigns in Syria.

ALEXANDER ZEBINA, supported by Physcon, expels Demetrius from the throne, who is killed soon after. 3877.

Demetrius is killed by Antiochus Zebina. Cleopatra, wife of Demetrius, retains part of the kingdom after his death.

LEUCUS V. eldest son of Demetrius, is declared king, and soon after killed by Cleopatra. 3880.

ANTIOCHUS GRYPUS, younger brother, is seated on the throne by Cleopatra. 3881.

Zebina is overthrown by Grypus, and dies soon after. 3882.

Cleopatra designs to marry Grypus, and is poisoned herself. 3884.

ANTIOCHUS, THE CYZICENIAN, son of Cleopatra and Antiochus Sidetes, takes arms against Grypus. 3890.

Cleopatra, whom Lathyrus had been obliged to repudiate, marries the 3891.

Cy-

A.M.

KINGS OF EGYPT.

- Cleopatra expels Lathyrus from Egypt: he
3897. reigned ten years. She sets his younger brother Alexander upon the throne.
3903. She gives her daughter Selena, whom she taken from Lathyrus, in marriage to Antioch Grypus.

KINGS OF SYRIA.

A.M.

Cyzicenean. She is killed
by the order of Tryphena,
wife of Grypus.

The Cyzicenean gains
a victory over Grypus, 3892.
and drives him out of
Syria.

Grypus is reconciled
with his brother the Cyzi-

The two brothers are 3893.
reconciled and divide the
empire of Syria.

Cleopatra gives her 3903.
daughter Selena to Antio-
chus Grypus.

Antiochus of Grypus. He had reigned twenty seven 3907.

Eusebes, his son, succeeds him.

Antiochus, the Cyzice- 3910.
nian, is overthrown, and
put to death.

Eusebes is overthrown
by Antiochus, and burnt in
the theatre.

ANTIOCHUS EUSEBES, 3911.
son of the Cyzicenean,
causes himself to be de-
clared king.

Eusebes marries Selena,
widow of Grypus.

ANTIOCHUS XI. brother
of Eusebes, and second
of Grypus, assumes
the throne, and is killed
by Eusebes.

3912.

Antiochus XII. his brother, third
of Grypus, succeeds

3913.

D.D.D.

3915. Alexander kills his mother Cleopatra.
3916. Alexander is expelled himself: he had reigned nineteen years. He died soon after. LATHYRUS is called.

3923. Death of Lathyrus.
ALEXANDER II. son of Alexander I. under Sy protection, is chosen king. He marries Cleop called otherwise Berenice, and kills her seventeen after. He reigned fifteen years.
-

KINGS OF SYRIA.

A.M.

ius EUPHARES,
of Grypus, is
upon the throne
us, by the affit-
thyus.

3914.

Eusebes, overthrown by 3916.
Philip and Demetrius,
takes refuge amongst the
Parthians.

He is re-established 3918,
upon the throne by their
means.

ius, having been
the Parthians,
us DIONYSIUS,
of Grypus, is
on the throne of
, and is killed
ing year.

yrans, weary of
divisions and re-
elect TIGRANES
ARMENIA. He
a viceroy four-

3921.

Eusebes takes refuge in 3923.
Cilicia, where he remains
concealed.

Selena, his wife, re-
tains part of Phœnicia and
Cœlofryia, and gives her
two sons a good educa-
tion.

Tigranes

The Alexandrians expel Alexander.
3939. PROLEMY AULETES, bastard son of Lathyrus
placed upon the throne.

EXAND

KINGS OF SYRIA.

A. M.

recalls Me-
viceroy from
commanded
en years in his

Syria, being unpro- 3935.
vided with troops, AN-
TIOCHUS ASIATICUS, son
of Antiochus Eusebes,
takes possession of some
part of the country, and
reigns there during four
years.

Pompey deprives An- 3939.
tiochus Asiaticus of his
dominions, and reduces
Syria into a province of
the Roman empire. The
house of the Seleucides is
extinct with him.

SECT.

SECT. II. ANTIOCHUS EUPATOR, *aged nineteen, is his father ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES in the kingdom Syria. DEMETRIUS, who had been long an host to Rome, demands in vain to return to Syria. Celebrated victories of JUDAS MACCABÆUS against the generals of it of Syria, and the king himself in person. Long difference between the two PTOLEMIES, brothers, and kings of. terminated at length by an happy peace.*

WE have long lost sight of the * history of the kingdom Syria, and that of the kings of Egypt, which generally no small connexion with each other. I am going to resume the thread of them, which will not be ruptured any more.

Antiochus, surnamed Eupator (d), aged only nineteen, succeeded his father Antiochus Epiphanes in the kingdom Syria. The latter, at his death, sent for Philip his son who had been brought up with him. He gave him the sceptre of the kingdom during his son's minority, and a crown, signet, and all the other marks of the royal dignity into his hands; recommending to him, above all things, to employ his whole care in educating his son in such a manner as was most proper to instruct him in the art of reigning.

Philip, on his arrival at Antioch, found that another had usurped the employment, which the late king had conferred on him. Lysias, upon the first advice of the death of Epiphanes, had placed his son Antiochus upon the throne, whose son he was, and had taken upon himself, with the guidance, the reins of the government, without any regard to the king's regulation at his death. Philip knew well, that he was not at that time in a condition to dispute it with him; he retired into Egypt, in hopes of finding, at that court, assistance he wanted for the re-possession of his right, and his expulsion of the usurper.

Much about the same time, Ptolemy Macron, governor of Cœlofrygia and Palestine, from the enemy he had been to the Jews, became on a sudden their friend; moved, scripture says, with a crying injustice which had been committed in regard to them. He put a stop to the rigorous persecution against them, and employed his whole care

(d) A. M. 3840. Ant. J. C. 164. Appian. in Syr. p. 117. 118. cab. vi. 17. 2 Maccab. ix. 29. & x. 10-13. Joseph. Antiq. l. xi.

* It is treated last towards the end of Book XVIII. Article II. and III.

a peace for them. By this conduct he gave his enemies occasion to hurt him. They prejudiced the king against him by representing him perpetually as a traitor; because he had in reality betrayed the interests of his first master, Ptolemy Philometor, king of Egypt, who had entrusted him with the government of the island of Cyprus, and had given the island to Antiochus Epiphanes, upon entering into Syria. For, how advantageous soever the treason might be to the traitor, as is usual, was hated. At length, they did not believe by their clamours and cabals, that he was deprived of his government, which was given to Lyfias; no other pension being conferred on him to support his family. He had not force of mind enough to bear his misfortune, and poisoned himself; an end he had well deserved for his treason, and share in the cruel persecution of the Jews.

John Maccabæus (*e*) at this time signalized his valour by several considerable victories over the enemies of the people of God, who continually made an implacable war against them. The little time that Antiochus Epiphanes survived, his invariable inclinations he had expressed for the Jews, and he had not admitted him to revoke in form his decree for obliging them to change their religion. The court of Syria, which considered the Jews as rebels desirous of throwing off their yoke, and had great interest in making so powerful a nation submit to it, had no regard to some of the demonstrations of the dying prince's favour to them. He always persisted in the same principles of policy, and continued to look upon that nation as an enemy, whose sole object was to shake off their chains, and to support themselves in their freedom of conscience, with regard to religion. Such were the notions of Syria in regard to the Jews.

Antiochus (*f*) son of Seleucus Philopator, who, from the death of his father died, had remained an hostage at Rome, when he was twenty-third year, when he was informed of the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, and the accession of his son Eupator to the crown, which he pretended to be his right, as the son of Antiochus Epiphanes's eldest brother. He proposed to the senate his claim to the throne upon his father's throne; and to engage them in it, he represented, that having been bred up at Rome, he should always regard it as his native country, the Romans as his fathers, and their sons as his brothers. The senate

Maccab. v. 1—68. 2 Maccab. x. 14—38. (f) A.M. 3841. C. 163. Polyb. Legat. cvii. Justin. l. xxxiv. c. 3. Appian in l. 137.

senate had more regard for the interests of the republic than the right of Demetrius, and thought it more advantageous for the Romans, that there should be a king in Syria upon the throne of Syria, than a prince like Demetrius might at length become formidable to them. They made a decree to confirm Eupator, and sent Cn. Sp. Lucretius, and L. Aurelius, with the character of ambassadors, into Syria, to regulate all things conformable to the treaty made with Antiochus the Great. The ambassadors had instructions to accommodate, if possible, the differences between the two kings of Egypt.

Lyfias (*g*), terrified by the victories of Judas Maccabæus, formed an army of fourscore thousand foot, and took with him all the cavalry of the kingdom, with four hundred elephants: at the head of all these forces he marched into Judæa with the resolution to settle strange inhabitants that worshipped idols in Jerusalem. He opened the campaign with the siege of Bethsura, a fortress between Idumæa and Jerusalem. Judas Maccabæus, and the whole people, beset the Lord, with tears in their eyes, to send his angel for the preservation of Israel. Full of confidence in God, he took the field. When they marched all together with assured courage, out of Jerusalem, there appeared a man marching before them. His habit was white, and his arms of gold, and he held a lance in his hand. They filled them with new ardour. They threw themselves like lions, killed twelve thousand six hundred, and obliged the rest to fly, most of them wounded without arms.

After this check, Lyfias (*b*), weary of so unsuccessful war, and, as the scripture says, *believing the Jews to be supported by the aid of the Almighty God*, made peace with Judas and the Jewish nation, which Antiochus Epiphanes confirmed. One of the articles of this peace was, that the religion of the Greeks, should be revoked and that they should be at liberty to live in all places according to their own laws.

This peace was of no long duration. The neighbouring people were too much the enemies of the Jews to be long in repose. Timotheus, one of the kings of Syria, assembled all his forces, and raised an army of

(*g*) 2 Maccab. ix. 1—28. x. 1—7. xiii. 1—24. 1 Maccab. vi. 19—63. Joseph. Antiq. c. xii. (*b*) Ibid. xi. 13.

* It was an angel, perhaps St. Michael, protector of the people.

thout including the horse, which amounted to five-ty thousand. Judas, full of confidence in the God a, marched against him with his troops very much as to number. He attacked and defeated him. us lost thirty thousand men in this battle, and saved with great difficulty. This defeat was followed by dvantages on the side of Judas, which proved that ne is the source of valour, intrepidity, and success in le shewed this in the most sensible manner, by the and singular protection which he gave to a peo-whom he was in a peculiar manner the guide and

w army was raised of 100,000 foot, with 20,000, and two-and-thirty elephants, and 300 chariots of he king in person, with Lyfias the regent of the a, put themselves at the head of it, and entered Judas, relying upon the omnipotence of God, the of the universe, and having exhorted his troops to the last drop of their blood, marched and posted him-he front of the king's camp. After having given his or the word of battle, THE VICTORY OF GOD, he e bravest men of his army, and with them in the attacked the king's quarters. They killed 4000 men, red, after having filled his whole camp with confusion nay.

gh the king knew from thence the extraordinary f the Jews, he did not doubt but they would be over-at length by the number of his troops and elephants.

ved therefore to come to a general battle with them. without being intimidated by the terrible preparations dvanced with his army, and gave the king battle, in e Jews killed a great number of the enemy. Eleazer, seeing an elephant larger than the rest, covered with g's arms, and believing the king was upon it, sacrinself to preserve the people, and to acquire immortal He forced his way boldly to the elephant through the battle, killing and overthrowing all that opposed him. lacing himself under the beast's belly, he pierced it in manner, that it fell and crushed him to death un-h it.

, however, and his troops, fought with extraordinary on. But at length, exhausted by the fatigue, and no ble to support the weight of the enemy, they chose to

The king followed them, and besieged the fortress of a. That place, after a long and vigorous defence,

was

was obliged, for want of provisions, to surrender by tulation.

From thence Antiochus marched against Jerusalem, and besieged the temple. Those who defended it were reduced to the same extremities with the garrison of Bethsura, and were like them, have been obliged to surrender, if Providence had not relieved them by an unforeseen accident. I have observed, that Philip had retired into Egypt, in hopes of assistance there against Lysias. But the divisions which between the two brothers, who reigned jointly, as has been said elsewhere, soon undeceived him. Finding that he could expect nothing from that quarter, he returned into the country, and assembled some troops of Medes and Persians, and taking advantage of the king's absence upon his expedition into Judæa, he seized the capital of the empire. Upon that Lysias thought it necessary to make peace with the Jews, in order to turn his arms against his rival in Syria. The Jews were accordingly concluded upon very advantageous and honourable conditions. Antiochus swore to observe it, and was admitted to enter the fortifications of the temple, the sight of which he was so much terrified, that, contrary to his faith given, and the oath he had sworn in regard to peace, he caused them to be demolished before he set out for Syria. The sudden return of Antiochus drove Philip out of Antioch, and put an end to his short regency, and soon to his life.

The troubles (*i*) occasioned by the divisions between two Ptolemies, which we have just now mentioned, is so high, that the Roman senate gave orders to the ambassadors they had sent into Syria, to proceed to Alexandria, and use all their endeavours to reconcile them. Before they arrived there, Physcon, the youngest, surnamed Evergetes, already expelled his brother Philometor. The latter embarked for Italy, and landed at Brundisium. From thence he took the rest of the way to Rome on foot, very ill dressed, and with few followers, and demanded of the senate the necessary assistance for replacing him upon the throne.

As soon as Demetrius, son of Seleucus Philopator, king of Syria, who was still an hostage at Rome, was apprized of his unhappy condition to which that fugitive prince was reduced, he caused royal robes and an equipage to be got ready for him, that he might appear in Rome as a king, and went to

(*i*) A. M. 3842: Ant. J. C. 162. Porphyry. in Cr. Esf. Scalig. & 68. Diod. in Excerpt. Valef. p. 322. Valer. Max. l. v. c. 2. Legat. cxiii. Epit. Liv. l. xlvii.

in with all he had ordered to be prepared for his use. He and him twenty-six miles, that is, at nine or ten leagues distance from Rome. Ptolemy expressed great gratitude to him for his goodness, and the honour he did him; but did not think proper to accept his present, nor permit him to attend him the rest of his journey. He finished it on foot, and with the same attendants and habit he had wore till then. In that manner he entered Rome, and took up his lodging with a painter of Alexandria, who had but a very small house. His design, by all these circumstances, was to express the misery he was reduced to the better, and to move the compassion of the Romans.

When the senate were informed of his arrival, they sent to inform he would come to them; and to excuse their not having prepared a house for his reception, and that he had not been paid the honours at his entry with which it was the custom to treat princes of his rank. They assured him, that it was either for want of consideration for his person, nor out of neglect, but because his coming had surprized them, and had been kept so secret, that they were not apprized of it till after he had entered Rome. Afterwards, having desired him to quit the habit he wore, and to demand an audience of the senate, in order to explain the occasion of his voyage, he was conducted by some of the senators to a house suitable to his birth; and orders were given to the quæstors and treasurers, to see him served and supplied, at the expence of the publick, with all things necessary during his residence at Rome.

When they gave him audience, and he had represented his condition to the Romans, they immediately resolved to re-establish him; and deputed two of the senators, with the character of ambassadors, to go with him to Alexandria, and cause their decree to be put in execution. They re-conducted him accordingly, and succeeded in negotiating an accommodation between the two brothers. Libya, and the province of Cyrene, were given to Physcon: Philometor had Egypt and the isle of Cyprus, and each of them was declared independent of the other in the dominions assigned them. The treaty and agreement were confirmed with the customary oaths and sacrifices.

But oaths and sacrifices had long been with the generality of princes no more than simple ceremonies and mere forms, which they did not think themselves bound in the least. And this way of thinking is but too common. Soon after, the youngest of the two kings, dissatisfied with the partition which had been made, went in person to complain of it to

the senate. He demanded, that the treaty of partition be annulled, and that he should be restored to the part of the isle of Cyprus. He alledged, that he had been by the necessity of the times, to comply with the proposals, and that, though Cyprus should be granted his part would still be far from equal to his brother's. Thyllus, whom the elder had deputed to Rome, made it that Physcon held not only Libya and Cyrenaica, but life also, from the goodness of his brother; that made himself so much the abhorrence of the people, violent proceedings, that they would have left him life nor government, had not his brother snatched him their resentment, by making himself mediator. That time he was preserved from this danger, he thought too happy in reigning over the region allotted to him that both sides had ratified the treaty before the altar gods, and sworn to observe their agreement with each other. Quintus and Canuleius, who had negotiated the agreement between the brothers, confirmed the truth of all Thyllus advanced.

The senate, seeing that the partition was not a equal, artfully took the advantage of the quarrel between two brothers, to diminish the strength of the kingdom of Egypt, by dividing it, and granted the younger what he demanded. For such was then the policy of the Romans. Polybius makes this reflection. They made the quarrel differences of princes the means of extending and strengthening their own power, and behaved in regard to them with much address, that whilst they acted solely from the interest, the contending parties were however obliged to them. As therefore the great power of Egypt gave reason to apprehend it would become too formidable, fell into the hands of one sovereign, who knew how to they adjudged the isle of Cyprus to Physcon. Demetrius, who did not lose sight of the throne of Syria, and whose interest in that view it was, that so powerful a prince as the king of Egypt should not continue in possession of the isle of Cyprus, supported the demand of Physcon with his credit. The Romans made T. Torquatus and Cn. Mercurius out with the latter, to put him into possession of it.

During (k) that prince's stay at Rome, he had often opportunity of seeing Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi, and caused proposals of marriage to be made to her.

(k) Plut. in Tib. Grac. p. 824.

ing the daughter of Scipio Africanus, and the widow of Tiberius Gracchus, who had been twice consul and censor, rejected his offers, and believed it more honourable to be one of the first ladies of Rome, than queen of Libya, with her consort.

Physcon set out from Rome with the two Roman ambassadors. Their plan was to concert an interview between the brothers upon the frontier, and to bring them into accommodation by the method of treaty, according to the king's instructions. Philometor did not explain himself fully at first. He spun out the affair to as great a length as he could, upon different pretexts, with design of making use of the time in taking secret measures against his brother. At length he declared plainly, that he was resolved to stand upon the first treaty, and that he would make no other.

The Cyrenæans, in the mean time (1), informed of the ill conduct of Physcon during his being possessed of the government at Alexandria, conceived so strong an aversion for him, that they resolved to keep him out of their country by force of arms. It was not doubted, but Philometor had taken measures underhand to excite those troubles. Physcon, who had been overthrown by the rebels in a battle, having almost lost all hope, sent two deputies with the Roman ambassadors back to Rome, with orders to lay his complaints against his brother before the senate, and to solicit their protection. The senate, offended at Philometor's refusal to evacuate the island of Cyprus, according to their decree, declared the amity and alliance between him and the Romans void, and ordered his ambassadors to quit Rome in five days.

Physcon found means to re-establish himself in Cyrenaica, but made himself so generally hated by his subjects, through his ill conduct, that some of them fell upon him, and wounded him in several places, and left him for dead upon the spot. He ascribed this to his brother Philometor; and when he was recovered of his wounds, undertook again a voyage to Rome. There he made his complaints against him to the senate, showed the scars of his wounds, and accused him of having employed the assassins from whom he received them. Though Philometor was the most humane of all princes, and could not be in the least suspected of so black and barbarous an action, the senate, who were angry at his refusal to submit to the resolution they had made in regard to the isle of Cyprus, gave

M 2

ear

(1) A. M. 3843. Ant. J. C. 161. Polyb. Legat. cxxxii. II. in Excerpt. Valef. p. 197. Diod. in Excerpt. Valef. p. 334.

ear to this false accusation with too much facility. They carried their prejudice so high against him, that they were not so much as hear what his ambassadors had to say in defence. Orders were sent them to quit Rome immediately. Besides which, the senate appointed five commissioners to conduct Physcon into Cyprus, and to put him into possession of that island, and wrote to all their allies near it to aid him in that purpose with all their troops.

(m) Physcon, by this means, with an army which was to him sufficient for the execution of his design, landed in the island. Philometor, who had gone thither in person, met him, and obliged him to shut himself up in Lapitho, where he was soon invested, besieged, and at length taken, and into the hands of a brother he had so cruelly injured. Philometor's exceeding goodness appeared upon this occasion. After all that Physcon had done against him, it was expected that having him in his power, he would make him sensible of his indignation and revenge. He pardoned him every thing, and, not contented to forgive him his faults, he even restored him Libya and Cyrenaica, and added farther some amendement to the isle of Cyprus. That act of generosity put an end to the war between the two brothers. It was not enough that the Romans were ashamed of opposing any longer a prince of such extraordinary clemency. There is no reader who does not secretly pay the homage of esteem and admiration to so generous an action. Such inward sentiments will rise from nature, and prevent reflections, imply how great and noble it is to forget and pardon injuries, and how mean a meanness of soul there is in the resentment of the vengeful.

SECT. III. OCTAVIUS, ambassador of the Romans in Syria, is killed there. DEMETRIUS escapes from Rome, and EUPATOR to death, ascends the throne of Syria, and assumes the name of SOTER. He makes war against the Jews. Repeated victories of JUDAS MACCABÆUS: Death of that great man. DEMETRIUS is acknowledged king by the Romans. He abandons himself to drunkenness and debauchery. ALEXANDER BALAS forms a conspiracy against him. DEMETRIUS is killed in a battle. ALEXANDER espouses the daughter of PTOLEMY PHILOMETOR. Temple built by the Jews in Egypt. DEMETRIUS, son of the

that name, sets up his claim to the throne of Syria. ALEXANDER is destroyed. PTOLEMY PHILOMETOR dies the same time.

WE have (n) seen that the principal object of the commission of the three Roman ambassadors, Cn. Octavius, Sp. Lucretius, and L. Aurelius, who went first into Syria, was to go into Syria, in order to regulate the affairs of that nation. When they arrived there, they found the king had more ships and elephants than had been stipulated in the treaty made with Antiochus the Great after the battle of Ipsus. They caused the ships to be burnt, and the elephants to be killed, which exceeded the number stated in the treaty, and disposed all things else in such a manner as was thought most to the advantage of the Romans. This conduct seemed insupportable, and exasperated the people against them. A person, named Leptinus, was so incensed, that in rage he fell upon Octavius, whilst he was sleeping, and killed him. It was suspected that Lysias, the chief of the kingdom, had secretly a hand in this assassination.

The ambassadors were immediately sent to Rome, to justify their conduct, and to protest, that he had no share in the action. The senate sent them back without giving them any answer, and, by that silence, their indignation for the murder was shewn upon the person of Octavius, of which they required the examination and punishment to themselves. In the mean time, to do honour to his memory, they erected a statue to him amongst those of the great men, who had lost their lives in defence of their country.

Antiochus believed, that the disgust of the Romans against him was a favourable conjuncture, of which it was proper for him to take the advantage, and addressed himself a second time to the senate, to obtain their permission to return to Syria. He took this step contrary to the opinion of the greatest part of his friends, who advised him to make his excuses, without saying any thing. The event soon shewed how much they were in the right. As the senate had

M 3

always

A. M. 3842. Ant. J. C. 162. Appian. in Syr. p. 117. Legat. cxiv, & cxxii. Cicer. Philip. ix. n. 4, 5. Justin. iv. c. 3.

This Octavius had been consul several years before, and was the first person of his family who had attained that dignity. Cic. Philip. ix. n. 4. — Antiochus, who became emperor, so well known under the name of Augustus, was of the same family with this Octavius, but of another branch, into which the consular dignity had never entered.

that the senate could do, was some days after to see Gracchus, L. Lentulus, and Servilius Glaucia, in to observe what effect the return of Demetrius would duce there.

Demetrius (o) having landed at Tripoli in Syria, spread, that the senate had sent him to take possession dominions, and had resolved to support him in them. He was immediately looked upon as a lost man, and the world abandoned him to join Demetrius. Eupator and Lyfias, seized by their own troops, were delivered up to a new-comer, who ordered them to be put to death. He saw himself established by this means upon the throne without opposition, and with prodigious rapidity.

One of the first actions of his reign was to deliver the Syrians from the tyranny of Timarchus and Heraclides. He had been the two great favourites of Antiochus Eupator. He had made the first governor, and the second treasurer of that province. Timarchus having added rebellion to crimes, Demetrius caused him to be put to death. He contented himself with banishing the other. The Syrians were so much rejoiced to see themselves freed from the oppression of those two brothers, that from thenceforth they gave their deliverer the title of Soter, or Saviour, which he bore ever afterwards.

Alcimus, whom Antiochus Eupator had made his

at Antioch, after having been expelled Judæa, and put himself at their head, came to petition the new king to end them from the oppressions of Judas and his brothers, dancing a thousand calumnies against them. He accused him of having killed all persons that fell into their hands of Demetrius's party, and of having forced him, with all those in his company, to abandon their country, and seek their safety elsewhere. Demetrius immediately ordered Bacchis, governor of Mesopotamia, to march into Judæa at the head of an army, and confirming Alcimus in his office, he joined him in commission with Bacchis, and charged them both with the care of this war. Judas rendered all the efforts of his first army ineffectual, as he did of a second, commanded by Nicanor. The latter, enraged at the last defeat of the Jews of Syria, and that an handful of men should make head against such numerous and warlike armies, and knowing that they placed their whole confidence with regard to their safety in the protection of the God of Israel, and in the prophecies made in the temple where he was honoured, had uttered a thousand blasphemies against the Almighty, and against the temple. He was soon punished for them. Judas gave him a bloody battle, and of his army of thirty-five thousand men, not one escaped to carry the news of the defeat to Antioch. The body of Nicanor was found amongst the dead. His head and right hand, which he had lifted up against the temple when he threatened to destroy it, were cut off, and sent upon one of the towers of Jerusalem.

Judas, after this complete victory, having some relaxation, sent an embassy to Rome. He saw himself continually attacked by the whole forces of Syria, without being able reasonably to rely upon any treaty of peace. He had no aid to expect from the neighbouring people, who, far from assisting themselves for the preservation of the Jewish nation, entertained no thoughts but of extirpating them in concert with the Syrians. He had been informed that the Romans, universally esteemed for their justice and valour, were always ready to support weak nations against the oppression of kings, whose power gave them umbrage. It was therefore he thought necessary to make an alliance with that people, in order to support himself by their protection against the unjust enterprises of the Syrians. Those ambassadors were very well received by the senate, who passed a decree, by which the Jews were declared the friends and allies of the Romans, and a defensive league was made with them. They even obtained a letter from the senate to Demetrius, by which he was

hazard a battle with so numerous an army, in which he perished, overpowered by multitudes. His loss was felt throughout all Judæa and at Jerusalem, with all the most lively affliction, and the government put into the hands of Jonathan his brother.

Alcimus being dead, after having committed great violence against the true Israelites, and Bacchis being returned to the country, the country remained quiet, and was not harassed by the Syrians for two years. Demetrius had undoubtedly received the senate's letter in favour of the Jews, which obliged him to recall Bacchis.

Demetrius (*p*) indeed was at this time very cautious in his conduct with regard to the Romans, and used all his endeavours to induce them to acknowledge him king, and to confirm the treaty made with the kings his predecessors. Having received advice, that the Romans had three ambassadors from the court of Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, he sent one of his principal ministers, thither, to enter into the negotiation. Finding, at his return, by the reports made of what had passed, that the good offices of the ambassadors were absolutely necessary to his success in it, he returned again into Pamphylia, and afterwards to Rhodes, to strengthen himself, that he would conform entirely to their will; and by the force of pressing solicitations, obtained at length by their means what he desired. The Romans acknow-

at weighed ten thousand pieces * of gold, as a present from him to the senate, in gratitude for their good treatment of him, during his being an hostage at Rome. They carried so with them Leptinus and Isocrates, in order to deliver them up, upon the account of the assassination of Octavius. This Leptinus was the person who killed him at Laodicea. Isocrates was a Greek, by profession a grammarian, who being in Syria at that time, had, upon all occasions, taken upon him to vindicate that equally base and unjust action. The senate received the ambassadors with all the usual honours, and accepted the present they brought; but would neither hear nor see two vile men, objects unworthy of their anger; serving to themselves, without doubt, the right of exacting, when they pleased, a more distinguished satisfaction for the murder of their ambassador.

It was about this time that Demetrius, as I have observed before, established Holophernes upon the throne of Cappadocia. He was soon after expelled, and took refuge at Antioch. We are going to see how far he carried his ingratitude in regard to his benefactor.

Demetrius, (*r*) who found himself without war or occupation, began to give into pleasure, and to lead an idle life, in a little singular and fantastick in the manner of it. He caused a castle to be built, near Antioch, flanked with four round towers, and shut himself up in it, for the sake of abandoning himself entirely on the one side to indolence, not being willing to hear any more of affairs, and, on the other, to the pleasure of good cheer and excess of wine. He was drunk at least one half of the day. The memorials, which people were desirous of presenting to him, were never received; justice was not administered; the affairs of the state languished; in a word, there was a general suspense of government, which soon stirred up the whole people against him. A conspiracy was formed for deposing him. Holophernes, who continued at Antioch, entered into this plot against his benefactor, flattering himself with obtaining the crown if the enterprize succeeded. It was discovered, and Holophernes put in prison. Demetrius would not deprive him of life. He chose rather to spare him, in order to make use of him upon occasion against Ariathes, king of Cappadocia, upon whose crown he had some pretensions.

M 5

Not-

(*r*) A. M. 3850. Ant. J. C. 154. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 3. then, l. x. p. 440. Justin. l. xxxv. c. 1.

* They were worth more than ten thousand pistoles.

Notwithstanding the discovery, the conspiracy was not pressed (1). The malcontents were supported under Ptolemy Philometor, who had the affair of Cyprus at and by Attalus and Ariarathes, who meditated revenge themselves for the war Demetrius had undertaken against them in favour of Holophernes. Those three princes concerted together to employ Heraclides in preparing some to personate the son of Antiochus Epiphanes, and to hereditary pretensions to the crown of Syria. This Heraclides had been, as I have said already, one of the favourites of Antiochus Epiphanes, and treasurer of the province of Babylon, at the same time Timarchus, his brother, another favourite, was governor of it. At Demetrius coming to the crown, the two brothers having been convicted of malversation and other crimes, Timarchus had been executed, and the other having made his escape, had taken his residence at Rhodes. It was there he took pains to prepare the man intended for the design I have mentioned. He chose for that purpose a young man, named Bala, of mean condition, but very proper to act the part given him. He recruited him, and instructed him fully in all that it was necessary to say or do.

(1) When he was fully prepared, he began by convincing him to be acknowledged by the three kings in the secret. afterwards carried him to Rome, as he did also Laodice, the real daughter of Antiochus Epiphanes, for the better concealing of the imposture. By force of address and suggestions, he caused him to be acknowledged there also, and obtained a decree of the senate in his favour, which not only gave him permission to return into Syria, for the recovery of his dominions, but even granted him assistance for that purpose. Though the senate plainly saw through the imposture, and that all which was told of this pretender was mere fiction, they entered into every thing desired of them against Antiochus, with whom they were dissatisfied, and passed a decree in favour of the impostor. With this declaration the Romans for him, he found no difficulty to raise troops. He then seized upon Ptolemais in Palestine, and there, under the name of Alexander, son of Antiochus Epiphanes, assumed the title of king of Syria. Many of the malcontents came thither to join him, and form his court.

(1) Polyb. Legat. cxxxviii, & cxi. Appian. in Syr. p. 131. J. v. p. 211. 1 Maccab. x. 1—50. (1) A. M. 3851, J. C. 153.

This news made Demetrius quit his castle and his indolence, and apply himself to his defence. He assembled all the troops he could. Alexander armed also on his side. The assistance of Jonathan was of great consequence in this conjuncture, and both parties made their court to him. Demetrius wrote to him first, and sent him the commission of general of the king's troops in Judæa, which rendered him at that time very much superior to all his enemies.

Alexander seeing what Demetrius had done for Jonathan, was thereby induced to make proposals also to him, in order to bring him over to his side. He made him high-priest, granted him the title of *Friend of the king*, sent him a purple robe and a crown of gold, marks of the high dignity conferred upon him; for none at that time wore purple except princes and nobles of the first rank. Demetrius, who received advice of this, still outbid him, to secure to himself an ally of such importance. But after the injuries he had done to all those who had the true interest of the Jews at heart, and the whole nation in general, they dared not confide in him, and resolved to treat rather with Alexander. Jonathan therefore accepted the high-priesthood from him, and with the consent of the whole people, at the feast of the tabernacles, which happened soon after, he put on the pontifical vestments, and officiated as high-priest.

The place had been vacant seven years from the death of Alcimus. The high-priesthood, which at that time came into the Asmonean family, continued in it till Herod's time, who, from hereditary, as it had been till then, made an employment of it, which he disposed of at pleasure.

(u) The two kings having taken the field, Demetrius, who wanted neither valour nor good sense, when his reason was not impaired by wine, was victorious in the first battle; but it was of no advantage to him. Alexander soon received new troops from the three kings who had set him up, and continued to support him vigorously. Having, besides this, the Romans and Jonathan on his side, he retrieved himself, and maintained his ground. The Syrians continually deserted so, because they could not bear Demetrius. That prince, beginning to apprehend the event of the war, sent his two sons, Demetrius and Antiochus, to Cnidos, a city of Caria, in order to their security in case of misfortune. He confided them, with a considerable sum of money, to the care of a friend of his in that city; in order if any accident should

M 6

happen.

(u) A. M. 3852. An. J. C. 138.

happen, that they might remain there in safety, and wait some favourable conjuncture.

(x) It was at the same time, and perhaps in imitation of Alexander Bala, that Andronicus played the same part in Macedonia. He had retired to Demetrius, who had given him up to the Romans, from the hope of conciliating their favour.

(y) The two competitors for the crown of Syria having assembled all their troops, proceeded to a decisive battle. At first Demetrius's left wing broke that of the enemy which opposed it, and put it to flight. But being too hot in the pursuit, a common fault in battles, and which almost always occasions their being lost, at their return they found the right, at the head of which Demetrius fought in person, routed, and the king himself killed in the pursuit. As long as he had been in a condition to support the enemy's charge he had omitted nothing that valour and conduct were capable of, which might conduce to his success. At length his troops gave way, and in the retreat his horse plunged into a bog, where those who pursued him, killed him with their arrows. He had reigned twelve years. Alexander, by this victory, found himself master of the empire of Syria.

As soon as (z) Alexander saw himself at repose, he sent to demand Cleopatra, the daughter of Ptolemy, king of Egypt, in marriage. She was granted him, and her father conducted her in person to Ptolemais, where the nuptials were celebrated. Jonathan was invited to that feast, and went thither, where he was received by the two kings with all possible marks of honour.

Onias, son of Onias III. having (a) been disappointed of the high-priesthood after the death of his uncle Menelaus, had retired into Egypt. He had found means to insinuate himself so well into the favour of Ptolemy Philometor and Cleopatra his wife, that he was become their favourite, and most intimate confident. He made use of his credit at that court to obtain the king's permission for building a temple for the Jews in Egypt; like that in Jerusalem; assuring him that favour would bring the whole nation into his party against Antiochus Epiphanes: at the same time the high-priesthood there was granted to him and his descendants for ever. The great difficulty was, to make the Jews come into this innovation; it being forbid by the law, to offer sacrifices

(x) A. M. 3833. Ant. J. C. 151. (y) A. M. 3854. Ant. J. C. 150.
(z) 1 Maccab. x. 51-66. (a) Joseph. contra Appian. l. ii.

rifices in any place but the temple of Jerusalem. It was not without difficulty he overcame their repugnance, by a passage in Isaiah, wherein the prophet foretells this event in these terms (*b*): *In that day shall five cities in the land of Egypt speak the language of Canaan, and swear to the Lord of Hosts; the one shall be called the city of destruction.* (M. Rollin says, the city of the sun, or Heliopolis.) *In that day there shall be an altar to the Lord in the midst of the land of Egypt; and a pillar at the border thereof to the Lord. And it shall be for a sign and for a witness unto the Lord of Hosts in the land of Egypt; for they shall cry unto the Lord because of be oppressors, and he shall find them a saviour and a great one, and he shall deliver them. And the Lord shall be known to Egypt, and the Egyptians shall know the Lord in that day, and shall do sacrifice and oblation, yea, they shall vow a vow unto the Lord, and perform it.*

The event here foretold by Isaiah is one of the most singular, and, at the same time, the most remote from all probability. Nothing was more strictly forbidden to the Jews, than to offer sacrifices to God, in any other place than the temple built by his order at Jerusalem; how much more, in consequence, to build a temple elsewhere, especially in a land polluted with the most gross idolatry, and always at enmity with the people of God? This however came to pass, exactly as the prophet Isaiah had foretold. I shall not enter into a circumstantial exposition of this prophecy, which would carry me too far from my subject.

Alexander Bala (*c*), finding himself in the peaceable possession of the crown of Syria, thought he had nothing more to do than to take all the pleasures the abundance and power to which he had attained would admit. He abandoned himself therefore to his natural inclination for luxury, idleness, and debauch. He left the care of affairs entirely to a favourite, named Ammonius. That insolent and cruel minister put to death Laodice, the sister of Demetrius, and widow of Perseus, king of Macedonia; Antigonus, Demetrius's son, who continued in Syria when the two others were sent to Cnidos; in fine, all the persons of the blood-royal he could find, in order to secure to his master, by that means, the possession of the crown he had usurped by an imposture. That conduct soon drew upon both the abhorrence of the people.

Deme-

(*b*) Isa. xix. 18—21. (*c*) A. M. 3856. Ant. J. C. 148. Liv. lib. 1. Justin. l. xxxv. c. 2. Jos. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 8. 1 Maccab. 67—89. Diod. in Excerpt. Valer. p. 346.

Demetrius, the eldest of Demetrius's sons, was at C and began to be of an age capable of counsel and s When he was advised of this aversion of the people thought the occasion favourable for repossessing himself right. Lathenes, the friend in whose house he lived cured him some companies of Cretans, with which he l in Cilicia. There soon joined him a sufficient number malcontents to form an army, with which he made h master of the whole province. Alexander opened his and quitted his seraglio to apply himself to his affairs. left the government of Antioch to Hierax and Diodotus. is also called Tryphon, put himself at the head of an formed of all the troops he could assemble, and upon r ing advice that Apollonius, governor of Cœlosyria and nicia, had declared for Demetrius, he sent to demand Ptolemy his father-in-law.

Apollonius's first thoughts were to reduce Jonathan persisted in his attachment to Alexander: but his success not answer his design, and in one day he lost above thousand men.

(d) Ptolemy Philometor, to whom Alexander had a in the extreme danger wherein he found himself, came to the assistance of his son-in-law, and entered Palestine a great army. All the cities opened their gates to according to the orders they had received from Alexander that effect: Jonathan came to join him at Joppa, and t ed him to Ptolemais. Upon his arrival, a conspiracy discovered, formed by Ammonius against the life of metor. As Alexander refused to deliver up that traitor concluded that he had entered into the conspiracy hi and, in consequence, took his daughter from him, gave Demetrius, and made a treaty with him, by which he en to aid him in re-ascending the throne of his father.

The people of Antioch, who mortally hated Amm believed it time to shew their resentment. Having dis ed him disguised like a woman, they sacrificed him to rage. Not content with that revenge, they declared a Alexander himself, and opened their gates to Pto They would even have set him upon the throne. But prince, assuring them that he was contented with his own minions, instead of accepting that offer, recommended them Demetrius the lawful heir, who accordingly was p upon the throne of his ancestors, and acknowledged l the inhabitants.

(e) Alexander, who was at that time in Cilicia, marched with the utmost diligence, and put all to fire and sword around Antioch. The two armies came to a battle. Alexander was beat, and fled with 500 horse to * Zabdiel, an Arabian prince, with whom he had entrusted his children. Betrayed by the person in whom he had placed most confidence, his head was cut off, and sent to Ptolemy, who expressed great joy at the sight of it. That joy was of no long duration, for he died some few days after, of a wound he had received in the battle. Thus Alexander king of Syria, and Ptolemy Philometor king of Egypt, died at the same time; the first after a reign of five years, and the second after one of thirty-five. Demetrius, who had attained the crown by this victory, assumed the surname of *Nicator*, that is to say, the Conqueror. The succession of Egypt was attended with more difficulties.

ECT. IV. *PHYSCON espouses CLEOPATRA, and ascends the throne of Egypt. DEMETRIUS in Syria abandons himself to all manner of excesses. DIODOTUS, surnamed TRYPHON, causes ANTIOCHUS, the son of ALEXANDER BALA, to be proclaimed king of Syria; then kills him, and takes his place. He seizes JONATHAN by treachery, and puts him to death. DEMETRIUS undertakes an expedition against the Parthians, who take him prisoner. CLEOPATRA his wife espouses ANTIOCHUS SIDETES, brother of DEMETRIUS, and places him upon the throne of Syria. PHYSCON's excessive follies and debauches. ATTALUS PHILOMETOR succeeds ATTALUS his uncle, whom he causes to be regretted by his vices. He dies himself, after having reigned five years, and by his will leaves the Roman people heirs to his dominions. ARISTONICUS seizes them. He is overthrown, led in triumph, and put to death.*

CLEOPATRA, queen of Egypt, after the death of her husband, who was at the same time her brother, endeavoured to place (f) the crown upon the head of the son he had by him. As he was yet very young, others laboured to obtain it for Physcon, king of Cyrenaica, the late king's brother, and sent to desire him to come to Alexandria. Cleopatra, thereby reduced to the necessity of her defence,

(e) A. M. 3859. Ant. J. C. 145. (f) A. M. 3859. Ant. J. C. 145. - Joseph. contr. App. l. ii. Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 8. Val. Max. ix. c. 1.

He is called Eumelus in the Maccabees,

fence, caused Onias and Dosithæus, with an army of J to come to her assistance. There was at that time a Roman ambassador at Alexandria, named Thermus, who by mediation accommodated affairs. It was agreed, that Ptolemy should marry Cleopatra and educate her son, who should be declared heir to the crown; and that Physcon should possess it during his life. He had no sooner married the queen, and taken possession of the crown, than, every very day of the nuptials, he killed her son in her arms.

I have already observed, that the surname of Physcon given to this prince, was only a nickname. That which he took himself was *Evergetes*, which signifies *the Benefactor*. The Alexandrians changed it into that of *Caccergetes*, that is to say, on the contrary, *one who delights in doing harm*; a name to which he had the justest title.

In Syria (g) affairs went on little better. Demetrius, a young prince without experience, left every thing to Lathenes, who had procured him the Cretans, by which aid he had ascended the throne. He was a corrupt and rash man, and behaved himself so ill, that he soon lost his master the hearts of those who were most necessary to his support.

The first wrong step which he took, was in regard to his soldiers, whom Ptolemy, upon his march, had put into the maritime places of Phœnicia and Syria, to reinforce the garrisons. If he had left those garrisons in them, they would have very much augmented his forces. Instead of guarding them, or at least of treating them well, upon some pretext which he conceived, he sent orders to the troops of Syria who were in the same garrisons, to cut the throats of all the Egyptian soldiers; which massacre was accordingly executed. The army of Egypt, which was still in Syria, and had put him upon the throne, full of just horror for so barbarous cruelty, abandoned him immediately, and returned home. After which he caused the strictest search to be made for those who had been concerned against himself or his father in the last wars, and punished all that could be found in death. When he believed, after all these executions, he had no longer any enemies to fear, he broke the greater part of his troops, and kept only his Cretans, and some foreigners, in his service. By that means he not only deprived himself of the old troops, who had served under his father, and being well affected to him, would have

(g) Diod. in Excerpt. Val. p. 346. 2 Maccab. ix, 20 - 37. J Antiq. l. xiii. c. 8.

tained him upon the throne, but he rendered them his greatest enemies, by depriving them of the sole means they had to subsist. He found this fully verified in the insurrectionary and revolutions which afterward happened.

Jonathan however, seeing every thing quiet in Judæa, formed the design of delivering the nation at length from the evils it suffered from the citadel, which the Grecian idolaters still held in Jerusalem. He invested it, and caused machines of war to be brought, in order to attack it in form. Demetrius, on the complaints made to him upon that occasion, went to Ptolemais, and commanded Jonathan to attend him there, to give an account of that affair. Jonathan gave orders for pushing the siege vigorously in his absence, and set out to meet him with some of the priests and principal persons of the nation. He carried with him a great quantity of magnificent presents, and appeased the king and his ministers so successfully, that he not only caused the accusations, which had been formed against him, to be rejected, but even obtained great honours and new marks of favour. The whole country under his government was discharged from all duties, customs and tributes, for the sum of * three hundred talents, which he agreed to pay the king by way of equivalent.

The king being returned to Antioch (*b*), and continuing to give himself up immoderately to all kind of excesses, violence, and cruelty, the people's patience was entirely exhausted, and the whole nation disposed for a general revolt.

Diodotus, afterwards surnamed Tryphon, who had formerly served Alexander, and had shared the government of Antioch with Hierax, seeing the people in this disposition, found the occasion favourable for attempting an hardy enterprise, which was to set the crown upon his own head, by the favour of these disorders. He went into Arabia to Zabdiel, to whom the person and education of Antiochus, the son of Alexander Bala, had been entrusted. He laid a state of the affairs of Syria before him, informed him of the discontent of the people, and in particular of the soldiery, and strongly represented, that there could not be a more favourable opportunity for setting Antiochus upon the throne of his father. He demanded that the young prince should be put into his hands, in order to his being restored to his rights. His

view

(*b*) Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 9. 1 Maccab. xi. 39—74. xii. 21—34. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 9. Appian. in Syr. p. 132. Epit. Liv. l. lii. Strab. l. xli. p. 752. Diod. in Excerpt. Valef. p. 346.

* 300,000 livres.

view was to make use of the pretensions of Antiochus, till he had dethroned Demetrius, and afterwards to rid himself of the young prince, and assume the crown to himself, as he did. Zabdiel, whether he penetrated his real design, or did not entirely approve his scheme, did not give into it at first. Tryphon was obliged to continue a considerable time with him, to solicit and press him. At length between the force of importunity and presents, he gained Zabdiel's consent, and obtained what he demanded.

(i) Jonathan carried on the siege of the citadel of Jerusalem with vigour, but seeing that he made no progress, he sent deputies to Demetrius, to desire that he would withdraw the garrison which he could not drive out by force. Demetrius, who found himself involved in great difficulties from the frequent tumults which happened at Antioch, where the people conceived an invincible aversion for his person and government, granted Jonathan all he demanded, upon condition that he would send troops to chastise the mutineers. Jonathan sent him three thousand men immediately. As soon as the king had them, believing himself sufficiently strong to undertake every thing, he resolved to disarm the inhabitants of Antioch, and gave orders accordingly that they should all deliver up their arms. Upon this they rose, to the number of 120,000 men, and invested the palace, with design to kill the king. The Jews immediately flew to engage him, dispersed that multitude with fire and sword, burnt a great part of the city, and killed or destroyed very near an hundred thousand of the inhabitants. The rest, intimidated by so great a misfortune, demanded a peace, which was granted them, and the tumult ceased. The Jews, after having taken this terrible revenge of the wrongs the people of Antioch had done to Judæa and Jerusalem, principally during the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes, returned into their country, laden with honour and booty.

Demetrius, always continuing his cruelties, tyranny, and oppressions, put many more persons to death for the last sedition, confiscated the estates of others, and banished a great number. All his subjects conceived such an hatred and animosity against him, that there wanted nothing but an occasion for rising, and making him experience the most dreadful effects of their vengeance.

Notwithstanding the promises he had made to Jonathan, and the great obligations he had to him for aid which had preserved him, he behaved no better in regard to him than

han he did to others. Believing he could do without him or the future, he did not observe the treaty he had made with him. Though the sum of 300 talents had been paid, he did not desist from demanding all the usual imposts, customs, and tributes, with the same rigour as before, and with menaces to Jonathan of making war upon him if he failed.

Whilst things were in this unsteady condition, Tryphon carried Antiochus the son of Alexander into Syria, and raised his pretensions to the crown to be declared by a manifesto. The soldiers who had been broke by Demetrius, and a great number of other malcontents, came in crowds to join the pretender, and proclaimed him king. They marched under his ensigns against Demetrius, beat him, and obliged him to retire to Seleucia. They took all his elephants, made themselves masters of Antioch, placed Antiochus upon the throne of the king of Syria, and gave him the surname of *Theos*, which signifies *the God*.

Jonathan, discontented at the ingratitude of Demetrius, accepted the invitation made him by the new king, and engaged in his party. Great favours were heaped upon him and Simon his brother. A commission was sent them, whereby they were empowered to raise troops for Antiochus throughout all Cœlosyria and Palestine. Of these troops they formed two bodies, with which they acted separately, and obtained several victories over the enemy.

Tryphon (*k*), seeing all things brought to the desired point for executing the project he had formed of destroying Antiochus, and of possessing himself of the crown of Syria, found no other obstacle to his design, than on the part of Jonathan, whose probity he knew too well, even to found him upon entering into his views. He resolved therefore to rid himself, at whatever price it cost him, of so formidable an enemy, and entered Judæa with an army, in order to take him and put him to death. Jonathan came also to Bethsan at the head of 40,000 men. Tryphon perceived that he should get nothing by force against so powerful an army. He endeavoured therefore to amuse him with fine words, and the warmest assurances of a sincere friendship. He gave him to understand, that he was come thither only to consult him upon their common interests, and to put Ptolemais into his hands, which he was resolved to make him a present of as a free gift. He deceived him so well by these protestations of friend-

(*k*) 2 Maccab. xii. 59—54. xiii. 1—30. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 10, 11. Justin, l. xxvii, c. 1. Epit. Liv. l. lv.

friendship, and obliging offers, that he dismissed his troops, except 3000 men, of which he kept only one band about his person. He sent the rest towards Galilee, following Tryphon to Ptolemais, relying upon that oath, that he should be put into possession of it. He had sooner entered the place, than the gates were shut upon him. Jonathan was immediately seized, and all his followers put to the sword. Troops were also detached to follow and surprize the 2000 men, who were upon march to Galilee. They had already received advice of what happened to Jonathan and his troops, at the city of Ptolemais, and having exhorted one another to defend them well, and to sell their lives as dear as possible, they were afraid to attack them. They were suffered to proceed and arrived all safe at Jerusalem.

The affliction there for what had befallen Jonathan was extreme. The Jews however did not lose courage. They chose Simon by universal consent for their general; and immediately, by his orders, set themselves at work with all possible speed to complete the fortifications, begun by Jonathan at Jerusalem. And when advice came that Tryphon approached, Simon marched against him at the head of his army.

Tryphon did not dare to give him battle, but had recourse to the same artifices which had succeeded with Jonathan. He sent to tell Simon, that he had laid Jonathan under an arrest, because he owed the king 1000 talents *; that if he would send him that sum, Jonathan's two sons as hostages for their father's fidelity, would cause him to be set at liberty. Though Simon saw clearly, that this proposal was no more than a feint, however, that he might not have reason to reproach himself for being the occasion of his brother's death, by refusing to comply with it, he sent him the money, and Jonathan's two children. The traitor, notwithstanding, did not release his prisoner, but returned a second time into Judæa, at the head of a greater army than before, with design to put things to fire and sword. Simon kept so close to him in his marches and countermarches, that he frustrated his designs, and obliged him to retire.

Tryphon, (1) on his return into winter-quarters in the country of Galaad, caused Jonathan to be put to death, believing after that he had nobody to fear, gave orders

Ant

(1) A. M. 3861. Ant. J. C. 143. Diod. Legat. xxx

* 100,000 dracmas.

Antiochus secretly. He then caused it to be given out, that he was dead of the stone, and at the same time declared himself king of Syria in his stead, and took possession of the crown. When Simon was informed of his brother's death, he went to fetch his bones, interred them in the sepulchre of his fathers at Modin, and erected a magnificent monument to his memory.

Tryphon passionately desired to be acknowledged by the Jews. His usurpation was so unsteady without this, that he perceived plainly it was absolutely necessary to his support. He sent them a magnificent embassy, with a golden statue of Victory of ten thousand pieces of gold in weight. He was cheated by the Romans. They accepted the statue, and caused the name of Antiochus, whom he had assassinated, to be inserted upon the inscription, as if it had come from him.

The ambassadors sent by Simon to Rome (*m*) were received there much more honourably, and all the treaties made with his predecessors renewed with him.

Demetrius in the mean time amused himself with diversions at Laodicea (*n*), and abandoned himself to the most famous debauches, without becoming more wise from adversity, and without so much as seeming to have the least sense of his misfortunes. As Tryphon had given the Jews no reason to oppose him and his party, Simon sent a crown of gold to Demetrius, and ambassadors to treat with him. They obtained from that prince, a confirmation of the high-priesthood and sovereignty to Simon, exemption from all kind of tributes and imposts, with a general amnesty for all past acts of hostility; upon condition that the Jews should join him against Tryphon.

Demetrius at length (*o*) recovered a little from his lethargy upon the arrival of deputies from the East, who came to invite him thither. The Parthians, having almost overrun the whole East, and subjected all the countries of Asia between the Indus and Euphrates, the inhabitants of those countries, who were descended from the Macedonians, not being able to suffer that usurpation, and the haughty influence of their new masters, extremely solicited Demetrius, by repeated

(*m*) 1 Maccab. xiv. 16—40. (*n*) A. M. 3863. Ant. J. C. 141. Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 353. 1 Maccab. xiii. 34—42. & xiv. 38—41. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 11. (*o*) Justin, l. xxxvi. c. 1. l. xxxviii. c. 1. l. xli. c. 5, & 6. 1 Maccab. xiv. 1—49. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 1—12. Orosius, l. v. c. 4. Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 359. Appian, 1 Syr. p. 132.

As soon as he appeared in the East, the Syrians, Syrians, Bactrians, declared in his favour, and with the he defeated the Parthians in several engagements; b length, under pretence of treating with him, they go into an ambuscade, where he was made prisoner, an whole army cut in pieces. By this blow, the empire o Parthians took such firm footing, that it supported itse many ages afterwards, and became the terror of a neighbours, and even equal to the Romans themselves power in the field, and reputation for military exploits.

The king who then reigned over the Parthians, was Mithridates, son of Priapatius, a valiant and wise prince. have seen in what manner Arsaces founded, and his Arsaces II. established and fixed, this empire, by a tre peace with Antiochus the Great. Priapatius was the f the second Arsaces, and succeeded him; he was called Arsaces, which became the common name of all the p of this race. After having reigned fifteen years, he le crown at his death to his eldest son Phraates, and he to Mithridates his brother, in preference * to his own chil because he had discovered more merit and capacity in his the government of the people; convinced, that a king, it is in his own power, ought to be more attentive to the of the state, than the advancement of his own family; to forget, in some measure, that he is a father, to rei ber solely that he is a king. This Mithridates was

defeated Demetrius, subjected also Babylonia and Mesopotamia, so that his empire was bounded at that time by the Euphrates on the West, and the Ganges on the East.

He carried Demetrius his prisoner into all the provinces that still adhered to the king of Syria, with the view of inducing them to submit to him, by shewing them the person they had looked upon as their deliverer, reduced to so low and shameful a condition. After that, he treated him as a king, sent him into Hyrcania, which was assigned him for his place of residence, and gave him his daughter Rhodoguna in marriage. However, he was always regarded as a prisoner of war, though in other respects he had all the liberty that could be granted him in that condition. His son Phraates, who succeeded him, treated him in the same manner.

It is observed particularly of this Mithridates, that having subjected several different nations, he took from each of them whatever was best in their laws and customs, and out of them composed an excellent body of laws and maxims of state, for the government of his empire. This was making a glorious use of his victories; by so much the more laudable, as it is uncommon and almost unheard of, for a victor to be more intent upon improving from the wise customs of the conquered nations, than upon enriching himself out of their spoils. It was by this means that Mithridates established the empire of the Parthians upon solid foundations, gave it a firm consistency, effectually attached the conquered provinces to it, and united them into one monarchy, which subsisted many ages without change or revolution, notwithstanding the diversity of nations of which it was composed. He may be looked upon as the Numa of the Parthians, who taught that warlike nation to temper a savage valour with discipline, and to blend the wise authority of laws with the blind force of arms.

At this time happened a considerable change in the affairs of the Jewish nation. They had contended long with incredible efforts against the kings of Syria, not only for the defence of their liberty, but the preservation of their religion. They thought it incumbent on them to take the favourable advantage of the king of Syria's captivity, and of the civil wars, with which that empire was continually torn, to secure the one and the other. In a general assembly of the priests, the elders, and the whole people at Jerusalem, Simon was chosen general, to whose family they had most essential obligations, and gave him the government with the title of sovereign, as well as that of high-priest: they declared this double power, civil

civil and sacerdotal, hereditary in his family. These two titles had been conferred on him by Demetrius, but limited to his person. After his death both dignities descended jointly to his posterity, and continued united for many generations.

(p) When queen Cleopatra saw her husband taken and kept prisoner by the Parthians, she shut herself up with her children in Seleucia, where many of Tryphon's soldiers came over to her party. That man, who was naturally brutal and cruel, had industriously concealed those defects under appearances of lenity and goodness, as long as he believed it necessary to please the people for the success of his ambitious designs. When he saw himself in possession of the crown, he quitted an assumed character that laid him under too much constraint, and gave himself up entirely to his bad inclinations. Many therefore abandoned him, and came over in no inconsiderable numbers to Cleopatra. Those desertions did not however sufficiently augment her party, to put her into a condition to support herself. She was also afraid, lest the people of Seleucia should chuse rather to give her up to Tryphon, than support a siege out of affection for her person. She therefore sent proposals to Antiochus Sidetes, Demetrius's brother, for uniting their forces, and promised on that condition to marry him, and procure him the crown. For when she was informed that Demetrius had married Rhodoguna, she was so much enraged, that she observed no measures any further, and resolved to seek her support in a new marriage. Her children were yet too young to support the weight of a precarious crown, and she was not of a character to pay much regard to their right. As Antiochus therefore was the next heir to the crown after them, she fixed upon him, and took him for her husband.

This Antiochus was the second son of Demetrius Soter, and had been sent to Cnidos with his brother Demetrius, during the war between their father and Alexander Bala, to secure them against the revolutions he apprehended, and which actually happened, as has been said before. Having accepted Cleopatra's offers, he assumed the title of king of Syria.

He wrote a letter to Simon (q), wherein he complained of Tryphon's unjust usurpation, of whom he promised a speedy vengeance. To engage him in his interests, he made him

(p) A. M. 3864. Ant. J. C. 140. (q) Maccab. xv. 1-41. xvi. 1-10. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 12, & 13.

him great concessions, and gave him hopes of much greater, when he should ascend the throne.

(r) Accordingly the beginning of the following year, he made a descent into Syria with an army of foreign troops; which he had taken into his pay in Greece, Asia Minor, and the islands; and after having espoused Cleopatra, and joined that troops she had with his own, he took the field and marched against Tryphon. The greatest part of that usurper's troops, weary of his tyranny, abandoned him, and came over to the army of Antiochus, which amounted at that time to an hundred and twenty thousand foot and eight thousand horse.

Tryphon could not make head against him, and he retired to Dora, a city in the neighbourhood of Ptolemais in Phœnicia. Antiochus besieged him there by sea and land with all his forces. The place could not hold out long against so powerful an army. Tryphon escaped by sea towards Orthosia, another maritime city of Phœnicia, and from thence proceeding to Apamea, where he was born, he was there taken and put to death. Antiochus thus terminated the usurpation, and ascended his father's throne, which he possessed nine years. His passion for hunting occasioned his being called *Sidetes*, or *the hunter*, from the word *Zidab*, which has the same signification in the Syriack language.

Simon, established in the government of Judæa by the general consent of the nation, thought it necessary to send ambassadors to Rome, in order to his being acknowledged under that title, and to renew the ancient treaties. They were very well received, and obtained all they desired. The senate, in consequence, caused the consul Piso to write to Ptolemy king of Egypt, Attalus king of Pergamus, Ariarathes king of Cappadocia, * Demetrius king of Syria, Mithridates king of the Parthians, and to all the states of Greece, Asia Minor, and the islands with whom the Romans were in alliance, to notify to them, that the Jews were their friends and allies, and in consequence they should not undertake any thing to their prejudice.

As Antiochus had only granted Simon so advantageous an alliance from the necessity of his present circumstances, and contrary to the interest of the state, as well as to the policy

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of

(r) A. M. 3865. Ant. J. C. 139.

* This letter was addressed to Demetrius, though prisoner amongst the Parthians, because the Romans had not then acknowledged Antiochus Sidetes nor Tryphon.

lick the extravagancies of an infant, by which he drew himself both the contempt and abhorrence of his su-
Without Hierax, his first minister, he had infallibly dethroned. This Hierax was a native of Antioch, at the same to whom, in the reign of Alexander Balus government of that city had been given, in conjunction Diodotus, afterwards surnamed Tryphon. After the r-
tion which happened in Syria, he retired into Egypt, e-
into the service of Ptolemy Physcon, and soon became captain-general, and prime minister. As he was valia-
the field, and able in council, by causing the troops
well paid, and amending the faults which his master
mitted, by a wise and equitable government, and by
venting or redressing them as much as possible, he
been till then so fortunate as to support the tranqui-
of the state.

(1) But in the following years, whether Hierax was
or the prudence and ability of that first minister we
longer capable of restraining the folly of this prince
affairs of Egypt went on worse than ever. Physcon, w-
any reason, caused the greatest part of those to be
death, who had expressed the most zeal in procuring hi
crown after his brother's death, and maintaining it up-
head. Athenæus places Hierax in this number; but w-
mentioning the time. He also put to death, or at

and murder at discretion, he terrified Alexandria so much, that the greatest part of the inhabitants, to avoid his cruelty, thought it necessary to retire into foreign countries, and the city remained almost a desert. To supply their places, when he perceived that nothing remained but empty houses, he issued a proclamation to be made in all the neighbouring countries, that whosoever would come and settle there, of whatsoever nation they were, should meet with the greatest encouragements and advantages. There were considerable numbers whom this proposal suited very well. The houses that had been abandoned were given to them, and all the rights, privileges and immunities granted them, which had been enjoyed by the ancient inhabitants; by this means the city was re-peopled.

As amongst those who had quitted Alexandria, there was a great number of grammarians, philosophers, geometricians, physicians, musicians, and other masters in the liberal sciences, it happened from thence, that the polite arts and sciences began to revive in Greece, Asia Minor, and the islands; in a word, in every place to which the illustrious fugitives carried them. The continual wars between the successors of Alexander had almost extinguished the sciences in all those countries, and they would have been entirely lost in those times of confusion, if they had not found protection under the Ptolemies at Alexandria. The first of those princes, by founding his Museum for the entertainment of the learned, and erecting his fine library, had drawn about him almost all the learned men of Greece. The second and third following the founder's steps in that respect, Alexandria became the city of the world, where the liberal arts and sciences were most cultivated, whilst they were almost absolutely neglected every where else. Most of the inhabitants of that great city studied, and professed some or other of those polite arts, in which they had been instructed in their youth. So that when the cruelty and oppression of the tyrant, of whom I speak, obliged them to take refuge in foreign countries, their most general recourse for subsistence was to make it their business to teach what they knew. They opened schools in those countries for that purpose, and as they were pressed by necessity, they taught at a low price, which very much increased the number of their disciples. By this means the arts and sciences began to revive wherever they were dispersed; that is to say, throughout what we call the whole East, exactly in the same manner as they took new birth in the West, after the taking of Constantinople by the Turks.

Much about the time that strangers came in crow (u) re-people Alexandria, P. Scipio Africanus the you Sp. Mummius, and L. Metellus, arrived there as ambassadors from Rome. It was a maxim with the Romans to send frequent embassies to their allies, in order to take cognizance of their affairs, and to accommodate their differences. With this view, that three of the greatest persons in the world were sent at this time into Egypt. They had orders to go into Egypt, Syria, Asia, and Greece; and to see in what condition the affairs of those countries were; to examine in what manner the treaties made with them were observed, and to remedy whatever they should find amiss. They discharged themselves of this commission with so much equity, justice, and address, and rendered such great services to those to whom they were sent, in restoring order amongst them, and in accommodating their differences, that as soon as they returned to Rome, ambassadors came from all parts of the world, to return the senate thanks for having sent persons of such extraordinary merit amongst them, and whose wisdom and goodness they could never sufficiently admire.

The first place they went to, according to their instruction, was Alexandria. The king received them there with great magnificence. As to themselves, they affected state so little, that at their entry, Scipio, who was the greatest person in Rome, had only one friend with him, which was Patruclus the philosopher, and five domesticks *. Not his domesticks says an historian, but his victories were considered: he was not esteemed for his gold or his silver, but for his personal virtues and qualities. Though during their whole residence at Alexandria, the king caused them to be served with what was most delicate and exquisite, they never touched any thing but the most simple and common meats; despising all delicacy, as serving only to enervate the mind as well as the body. So great, even at that time, were the moderation and temperance of the Romans; but luxury and pomp attended their place.

When the ambassadors had fully viewed Alexandria, they regulated the affairs which brought them thither, they went up the Nile to visit Memphis, and the other parts of the country.

(u) Cic. in Somn. Scip. Athen. l. vi. p. 273, & l. xii. p. 549. Val. l. iv. c. 3. Diod. l. legat. xxiii.

* Cum per socios & externas gentes | auri & argenti, sed quantum
inter fecerunt, non mancipia sed victo- | ralis onus secum ferret, xlii
ria numerabantur; nec quantum | tur. Val. Max.

His prince's death was a misfortune to the king of Pergamus. Philometor governed it in the most extra and pernicious manner. He was scarce upon the throne before he stained it with the blood of his nearest relations and the best friends of his house. He caused almost all who had served his father and uncle with extreme fidelity, their throats cut, under pretence that some of them had killed his mother Stratonice, who died of a disease in advanced age, and others his wife Berenice, who died of an incurable distemper, with which she had been taken naturally. He put others also to death upon suspiciously frivolous; and with them, their wives, children, and whole families. He caused these executions to be committed by foreign troops, whom he had expressly sent for from the most savage and cruel of nations, to make them the instruments of his enormous barbarity.

After having massacred and sacrificed to his fury, in this manner, the most deserving persons of his kingdom, he ceased to shew himself abroad. He appeared no more in public, and eat no longer in public. He put on old clothes, let his beard grow without taking any care of it, and did every thing which persons accused of capital crimes used to do in those days, as if he intended thereby to acknowledge his own late iniquity.

From hence he proceeded to other species of folly. He neglected the cares of state, and retired into his garden

jects, was of no long duration, for it lasted only five

he took it into his head to practise the trade of a founder, formed the model of a monument of brass to be erected to another. Whilst he was at work in casting the metal, on the summer's day, he was seized with a fever, which ended him off in seven days, and delivered his subjects from an abominable tyrant.

He had made a will, by which he appointed the Roman people his heirs. Eudemus of Pergamus carried the will to Rome. The principal article was expressed in these terms, (x) LET THE ROMAN PEOPLE INHERIT MY FORTUNES. As soon as it was read, Tiberius Gracchus, tribune of the people, always attentive to conciliate their favour, took hold of the occasion, and ascending the tribunal of harangues, proposed a law to this effect, That the ready money which should arise from the succession to the prince, should be distributed amongst the poor citizens, and should be sent as colonies into the country bequeathed to the Roman people, in order that they might have wherewithal support themselves in their new possessions, and to supply them with the tools and other things necessary in agriculture. He added, that as to the cities and lands, which were under that prince's government, the senate had no right to pass any decree in regard to them, and that he should leave the disposal of them to the people; which extremely enraged the senate. That tribune was killed some small time after.

a) Aristonicus, however, who reported himself of the pseudo-royal, was active to take possession of Attalus's dominions. He was indeed the son of Eumenes by a courtesan, and easily engaged the majority of the cities in his party, because they had been long accustomed to the government of kings. Some cities, out of their fear of the Romans, refused at first to acknowledge him, but were compelled to it by force.

b) As his party grew stronger every day, the Romans sent the consul Crassus Mucianus against him. It was observed of this general, that he was so perfectly master of all dialects of the Greek tongue, which in a manner formed

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five

(1) A. M. 3871. Ant. J. C. 133. (x) Plut. in Gracch. For. c. 20. Justin. l. xxvi. c. 4. & xxxvii. c. 1. Vel. Patere. l. ii. c. 4. l. xiv. p. 646. Oros. l. 5. c. 8-10. Eutrop. l. iv. Val. Max. l. 6. c. 2. (a) A. M. 3871. Ant. J. C. 132. (b) A. M. 3871. Ant. J. C. 131.

five different languages, that he pronounced his decrees according to the particular idiom of those who pleaded before him, which made him very agreeable to the states of Asia Minor. All the neighbouring princes, in alliance with the Roman people, the kings of Bithynia, Pontus, Cappadocia, and Paphlagonia, joined him with their troops.

(c) Notwithstanding such powerful supports, having engaged in a battle with disadvantage, his army, which he commanded then in quality of proconsul, was defeated, and himself made prisoner. He avoided the shame of being put into the victor's hands by a voluntary death. His head was carried to Aristonicus, who caused his body to be interred at Smyrna.

The consul Perpenna, who had succeeded Crassus, soon revenged his death. Having made all haste into Asia, he gave Aristonicus battle, entirely routed his army, besieged him soon after in Stratonice, and at length made him prisoner. All Phrygia submitted to the Romans.

(d) He sent Aristonicus to Rome in the fleet which he loaded with Attalus's treasures. Manius Aquilius, who had lately been elected consul, was hastening to take his place, in order to put an end to this war, and deprive him of the honour of a triumph. He found Aristonicus set out; and some time after Perpenna, who had begun his journey, died of disease at Pergamus. Aquilius soon terminated this war, which had continued almost four years. Lydia, Caria, the Hellespont, Phrygia, in a word, all that composed the kingdom of Attalus, was reduced into a province of the Roman empire, under the common name of Asia.

The senate had decreed, that the city of Phocæa, which had declared against the Romans, as well in this last war, as in that against Antiochus, should be destroyed. The inhabitants of Marseilles, which was a colony of Phocæa, moved as much with the danger of their founders, as if the fate of their own city had been in question, sent deputies to Rome, to implore the clemency of the senate and people in their favour. As just as their indignation was against Phocæa, they could not refuse that favour to the ardent solicitations of a people, whom they had always held in the highest consideration, and who rendered themselves still more worthy of it, by the tender concern and gratitude they expressed for their benefactors and founders.

Phrygia Major was granted to Mithridates Euphrates, king of Pontus, in reward for the aid he had given the Romans in

at war. But after his death they dispossessed his son, the Mithridates, of it, and declared it free.

Antiochus, king of Cappadocia, who died during this war, had left six children. Rome, to reward in the sons the virtues of the father, added Lycaonia and Cilicia to their dominions. They found in queen Laodice not the tenderness of a parent, but the cruelty of a step-mother. To secure all power to herself, she poisoned five of her children, and the sixth would have had the same fate, if his relations had not taken him out of the murderous hands of that Megæra, whose crimes the people soon revenged by a violent death.

Manius Aquilius, at his return to Rome, received the honours of a triumph. Aristonicus, after having been shewn before a fight to the people, was carried to prison, where he was strangled. Such were the consequences of king Attalus's will.

Mithridates, in the letter which he wrote afterwards to the Romans, king of Parthia, accuses the Romans of having procured a false will of Attalus's, in order to deprive Aristonicus, the son of Eumenes, of his father's kingdom, which was justly his of right: but it is a declared enemy who accuses them with this. It is more surprising that Horace in his odes seems to make the Roman people the same as the king, and to insinuate, that they had attained the kingdom by fraud:

(f) Nequē Attali
Ignotus hæres regiam occupavi.

*Nor have I seiz'd, an heir unknown,
The Phrygian's kingdom for my own.*

However, there remains no trace in history of any intrigue or solicitation to that effect on the side of the Romans.

I thought it proper to relate all the consequences of this war without interruption. I shall now resume the thread of history.

A. M. 3878. Ant. J. C. 126.

(f) Hor. Od. xviii. l. 2.

simulato impio testamento, ejus (Eumenis) Aristoni- quia patrum regnum peti-	verat, hostium more per triumphum duxere. <i>Apud Silium. in Fragm.</i>
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SECT. V. ANTIOCHUS SIDETES. JOHN HYRCANUS in Jerusalem. That city *survived* by capitulation. He makes war against the Parthians, and perishes in it. PHRAATES, king of the Parthians, defeated in his turn by the Scythians. PHYSCON commits most horrible cruelties in Egypt. A general revolt obliges him to quit it. CLEOPATRA, his first wife, is replaced upon the throne. She implores aid of DEMETRIUS, and is soon reduced to leave Egypt. PHYSCON returns thither, and re-ascends the throne. By his means ZEBINA dethrones DEMETRIUS, who is soon after killed. The kingdom is divided between CLEOPATRA, the wife of DEMETRIUS, and ZEBINA. ANTIOCHUS GRYPUS ascends the throne of Syria. The famous MITHRIDATES begins to reign in Pontus. PHYSCON's death.

SIMON having been slain (g) by treason, with two of his sons, John another of them, surnamed Hyrcanus, was proclaimed high-priest and prince of the Jews in his father's stead. Here ends the history of the Maccabees.

Antiochus Sidetes, king of Syria, made all possible haste to take the advantage which the death of Simon gave him, and advanced at the head of a powerful army to reduce Judæa, and unite it to the empire of Syria. Hyrcanus was obliged to shut himself up in Jerusalem, where he sustained a long siege with incredible valour. Reduced at length to the last extremity for want of provisions he caused proposals of peace to be made to the king. His condition was not known in the camp. Those, who were about the king's person, pressed him to take the advantage of the present occasion for exterminating the Jewish nation. They represented to him, recurring to past ages, that they had been driven out of Egypt as impious wretches, hated by the gods, and abhorred by men; that they were enemies to all the rest of mankind, as they had no communication with any but those of their own sect, and would neither eat, drink, nor have any familiarity with other people; that they did not adore the same gods; that they had laws, customs, and a religion entirely different from that of all other nations; that therefore they well deserved to be treated by other nations with equal contempt, and to be rendered hatred for hatred; and that all people ought to unite in extirpating them. Diodorus Siculus, as well

(g) A. M. 3869. Ant. J. C. 131. 1 Maccab. xvi. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 16. Diod. in Eclog. i. p. 901.

well as Josephus, says, that it was from the pure effect of the generosity and clemency of Antiochus, the Jewish nation was not entirely destroyed on this occasion.

He was well pleased to enter into a treaty with Hyrcanus. It was agreed, that the besieged should surrender their arms; that the fortifications of Jerusalem should be demolished; and that a tribute should be paid to the king for Joppa, and for the other cities which the Jews had out of Judæa: the peace was concluded upon these conditions. Antiochus also demanded, that the citadel of Jerusalem should be rebuilt, and would have put a garrison into it; but Hyrcanus would not consent to that, upon account of the miseries the nation had suffered from the garrison of the former citadel, and chose rather to pay the king the sum of * 500 talents, which he demanded as an equivalent. The capitulation was executed, and because it could not be immediately ratified, hostages were given, amongst whom was a brother of Hyrcanus.

Scipio Africanus the younger, going (*b*) to command in Spain during the war with Numantia, Antiochus Sidetes sent him rich and magnificent presents. Some generals would have appropriated them to their own use. Scipio received them in publick, sitting upon his tribunal in the view of the whole army, and gave orders that they should be delivered to the † *questor*, to be applied in rewarding the officers and soldiers who should distinguish themselves in his service. By such conduct a generous and noble soul is known.

Demetrius Nicator (*i*) had been kept many years in captivity by the Parthians in Hyrcania, where he wanted nothing except liberty, without which all else is misery. He had made several attempts to obtain it, and to return into his own kingdom, but always without success. He was twice taken in the midst of his flight, and punished only with being carried back to the place of his confinement, where he was guarded with more care, but always treated with the same magnificence. This was not the effect of mere goodness and clemency in the Parthians; interest had some share in it. They had views of making themselves masters of

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(*b*) A. M. 3870. Ant. J. C. 134. Epit. Liv. l. lvii. (*i*) A. M. 373. Ant. J. C. 137. Justin. l. xxviii. c. 9. & 10. l. xxxix. c. 1. Tacit. l. v. c. 1. Valer. Max. l. ix. c. 1. Athen. l. v. p. 210. & x. p. 439. & l. xii. p. 540. Joseph. Antiq. l. xix. c. 16. Appian. in 37. p. 132.

* 500,000 crowns.

† The *questor* was the treasurer of the army.

well-dressed and equipped. But the train of mules added to it so great a multitude of sutlers, cooks, jokers, confectioners, actors, musicians, and infamous men, that they were almost four times as many as the soldiers, and might amount to about 300,000. There may be exaggeration in this account, but if two-thirds were deducted, there would still remain a numerous train of mouths. The luxury of the camp was in proportion to the number of those that administered to it. Gold and glittered universally, even upon the legs of the soldiers. The instruments and utensils of the kitchen were silver, as if they had been marching to a feast not to a war.

Antiochus had great success at first. He beat Phraates in three battles, and retook Babylonia and Media. All the provinces of the East, which had formerly appertained to the Syrian empire, threw off the Parthian yoke, and submitted to him, except Parthia itself, where Phraates found himself reduced within the narrow bounds of his ancient dominion. Hyrcanus, prince of the Jews, accompanied Antiochus in this expedition, and having had his share in all the victories, returned home laden with glory, at the end of the campaign and the year.

The rest of the army passed the winter in the East. The prodigious number of the troops, including the train mentioned, obliged them to separate, and remove to sea-

conspired with the Parthians to massacre them all in one day in their quarters, without giving them time to assemble; which was accordingly executed. Antiochus, who had kept a body of troops always about his person, marched to assist the quarters nearest him, but was overpowered by numbers, and perished himself. All the rest of the army were either massacred in their quarters the same day, or made prisoners; so that out of so great a multitude, scarce any escaped to carry the sad news of this slaughter into Syria.

It occasioned great grief and consternation there. The death of Antiochus, a prince estimable for many excellent qualities, was particularly lamented. Plutarch (*k*) relates a saying of his, very much to his honour. One day, having lost himself a hunting, and being alone, he retired into the cottage of some poor people, who received him in the best manner they could, without knowing him. At supper, having himself turned the conversation upon the person and conduct of the king, they said, that he was in every thing else a good prince, but that his too great passion for hunting made him neglect the affairs of his kingdom, and repose too much confidence in his courtiers, whose actions did not always correspond with the goodness of his intentions. Antiochus made no answer at that time. The next day, upon the arrival of his train at the cottage, he was known. He repeated to his officers what had passed the evening before, and told them by way of reproach, *Since I have taken you into my service, I have not heard a truth concerning myself till yesterday.*

Phraates, thrice beaten by Antiochus, had at last released Demetrius, and sent him back into Syria with a body of troops, in hopes that his return would occasion such troubles, as would reduce Antiochus to follow him. But after the massacre, he detached a party of horse to retake him. Demetrius, who apprehended a countermand of that nature, had marched with so much diligence, that he had passed the Euphrates before that party arrived upon the frontier. In this manner he recovered his dominions, and made great rejoicings upon that occasion, whilst all the rest of Syria were in tears, deploring the loss of the army, in which few families had not some relation.

Phraates caused the body of Antiochus to be sought for amongst the dead, and put into a coffin of silver. He sent it into Syria to be honourably interred with his ancestors, and

(k) A. M. 3874. Ant. J. C. 136. Plut. in Apophthegm. p. 284.

and having found one of his daughters amongst the captives he was struck with her beauty, and married her.

Antiochus being dead (1), Hyrcanus took the advantage of the troubles and divisions, which happened through the whole empire of Syria, to extend his dominions, by making himself master of many places in Syria, Phœnicia Arabia, which lay commodiously for him. He laboured at the same time to render himself absolute and independent. He succeeded so well in that endeavour, that from that time forth neither himself nor any of his descendants depended the least upon the kings of Syria. They threw off the entire yoke of subjection, and even that of homage.

Phraates (m), flushed with his great successes, and victory he had gained, was for carrying the war into Syria to revenge Antiochus's invasion of his dominions. But, as he was making his preparations for that expedition, an unexpected war broke out with the Scythians, who found employment enough at home, to remove all thoughts of quieting others abroad. Finding himself vigorously pushed by Antiochus, as we have seen, he demanded aid of the Parthians. When they arrived, the affair was terminated having no farther occasion for them, he would not give them the sums he had engaged to pay them. The Scythians immediately turned their arms against himself, to avenge themselves for the injustice he had done them.

It was a great error in this prince to have disgraced so powerful a nation by a mean and sordid avarice, and he committed a second, no less considerable, in the war itself. To strengthen himself against that nation, he sought aid of the Parthians to whom he had made himself more hateful than the Scythians themselves; these were the Greek soldiers and troops, who had been in the pay of Antiochus in the war against him, and had been made prisoners. Phraates thought proper to incorporate them into his own troops, believing that he should considerably reinforce them by these means. But when they saw themselves with arms in their hands, they were resolved to be revenged for the injuries and ill treatment they had suffered during their captivity; as soon as the armies engaged, they went over to the Parthians and gave such a turn to the battle, whilst the victory was in suspense, that Phraates was defeated with a great slaughter of his troops. He perished himself in the pursuit, and :

(1) Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 17. Strab. l. xvi. p. 761. Jos. Ant. l. xvi. c. 1. (m) A. M. 3875. Ant. J. C. 129. Justin. l. c. 1. & l. xlii. c. 1. & 2.

his whole army. The Scythians and Greeks contented themselves with plundering the country, and then retired to their several homes.

When they were gone, Artaban, Phraates's uncle, caused himself to be crowned king of the Parthians. He was killed some days after in a battle with the Thogarians, another Scythian nation. Mithridates was his successor, who for his glorious actions was surnamed the Great.

During all these revolutions (*n*) in the Syrian and Parthian empires, Ptolemy Physcon did not alter his conduct in Egypt. I have already observed, that on his marriage with his sister Cleopatra, who was his brother's widow, he had killed the son she had by his brother in her arms, on the very day of their nuptials. Afterwards, having taken a disgust for the mother, he fell passionately in love with one of her daughters by Philometor, called also Cleopatra. He began by violating her, and then married her, after turning away her mother.

He soon made himself hated also by the new inhabitants of Alexandria, whom he had drawn thither to re-people it, and supply the place of those his first cruelties had obliged to abandon their country. To put them out of a condition to do him hurt, he resolved to have the throats cut of all the young people in the city, in whom its whole force consisted. For that purpose, he caused them to be invested one day by his foreign troops in the place of exercise, when the assembly there was most numerous, and put them all to the sword. The whole people ran in a fury to set fire to the palace, and to burn him in it; but he had quitted it before they arrived there, and made his escape into Cyprus, with his wife Cleopatra, and his son Memphitis. Upon his arrival there, he was informed, that the people of Alexandria had put the government into the hands of Cleopatra, whom he had repudiated. He immediately raised troops to make war upon the new queen and her adherents.

(*o*) But first, apprehending that the Alexandrians would make his son king, to whom he had given the government of Cyrenaica, he caused him to come to him, and put him to death as soon as he arrived, only to prevent a pretended danger, which had no foundation but in his falsely-alarmed imagination. That barbarity enraged every body the more against him.

(*n*) A. M. 3874. Ant. J. C. 130. Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 8, 9. l. xxxix. c. 1. Val. Max. l. ix. c. 2—7. Oros. l. v. c. 10. Epit. l. lix, lx. Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 374—376. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 17.
(*o*) A. M. 3875. Ant. J. C. 129.

him. They pulled down and in Alexandria. He believed, that repudiated, had induced the people to this, and to be revenged of her, ordered the throat of Memphitis to be cut, a young prince whom he had by her, of great beauty and hopes. He afterwards caused the body to be cut in pieces, and put into a chest, with the head entire, that it might be known, and sent it by one of his guards to Alexandria, with orders to wait till the birth-day of that princess, which approached, and was to be celebrated with great magnificence, and then to present it to her. His orders were obeyed. The chest was delivered to her in the midst of the rejoicings of the feast, which were immediately changed into mourning and lamentations. The horror cannot be expressed, which the view of that sad object excited against the tyrant, whose monstrous barbarity had perpetrated so unnatural and unheard-of a crime. The abominable present was exposed to the view of the publick, with whom it had the same effect as with the court, who had first seen that sad spectacle. The people ran to their arms, and nothing was thought of, but how to prevent that monster from ever re-ascending the throne. An army was formed, and the command of it given to Marfyas, whom the queen had appointed general, and all the necessary precautions were taken for the defence of the country.

Ptolemy Physcon having raised an army on his side, gave the command of it to Hegelochus, and sent him against the Alexandrians. A battle was fought, and gained by Hegelochus. He even took Marfyas prisoner, and sent him laden with chains to Physcon; it was expected that so bloody a tyrant would have put him to death in the most exquisite torments, but the contrary happened. He gave him his pardon, and set him at liberty. For finding by experience, that his cruelties only drew misfortunes upon him, he began to abate in them, and was for doing himself honour by his lenity. Cleopatra, reduced to great extremities by the loss of her army, which was almost entirely cut to pieces in the pursuit, sent to demand aid of Demetrius, king of Syria, who had married her eldest daughter by Philometor, and promised him the crown of Egypt for his reward. Demetrius, without hesitation, accepted that proposal, marched with all his troops, and laid siege to Pelusium.

That prince was no less hated by the Syrians for his haughtiness, tyranny, and excesses, than Physcon by the Egyptians. When they saw him at a distance, and employed in

the siege of Pelusium, they took up arms. The people of Antioch began, and after them those of Apamea; many other cities of Syria followed their example, and joined with them. Demetrius was obliged to leave Egypt, in order to reduce his own subjects to obedience. Cleopatra, destitute of the aid she expected from him, embarked with her treasures, and took refuge with her daughter, Cleopatra, queen of Syria.

This Cleopatra, the daughter, had been first married to Alexander Bala, and afterwards to Demetrius, in the lifetime of her father Philometor. But Demetrius having been taken prisoner by the Parthians, and detained amongst them, she had married Antiochus Sidetes, Demetrius's brother. After the death of Sidetes, she returned to Demetrius her first husband, who being set at liberty by the Parthians, had repossessed himself of Syria: she kept her court at Ptolemais when her mother came to her.

(p) Physcon, as soon as Cleopatra had abandoned Alexandria, returned thither, and re-assumed the government. For after the defeat of Marias, and the flight of Cleopatra, there was nobody in condition to oppose him. After having employed some time in strengthening himself, to revenge the invasion of Demetrius, he set up an impostor against him, called Alexander Zebina. He was the son of a broker of Alexandria. He gave himself out for the son of Alexander Bala, and pretended, in that quality, that the crown of Syria was his right. Physcon lent him an army to put him in possession of it. He was no sooner in Syria, than, without examining the justice of his pretensions, the people came in crowds to join him, out of their hatred to Demetrius. They were in no pain about the person who was to be their king, provided they got rid of him.

At length a battle decided the affair. It was fought near Damascus in Cœlosyria. Demetrius was entirely defeated, and fled to Ptolemais, where his wife Cleopatra was. She, who had always at heart his marriage with Rhodoguna amongst the Parthians, took this occasion to be revenged, and caused the gates of the city to be shut against him. Would not one think, that in the age of which we now treat, there was a kind of dispute and emulation between the princes and princesses, who should distinguish themselves most by wickedness and the blackest crimes? Demetrius was obliged to fly to Tyre, where he was killed. After his death, Cleopatra reserved to herself part of the kingdom: Zebina had

all

for his education, and ordered him to be declared king as soon as he arrived. But that was no more than an empty title. She gave him no share in the affairs of the government; and as that prince was very young, being no more than twenty years of age, he suffered her to govern for some time with patience enough. To distinguish him from other princes of the name of Antiochus, he was generally called by the surname of * *Grypus*, taken from his great nose. Josephus calls him *Philmator*; but that prince in his medals took the title of *Epiphanes*.

(u) Zebina having well established himself, after the death of Demetrius Nicator, in the possession of part of the Syrian empire, Physcon, who looked upon him as his creature, insisted upon his doing him homage for it. Zebina refused in direct terms to comply with that demand. Physcon resolved to throw him down as he had set him up, and having accommodated all differences with his niece Cleopatra, he sent a considerable army to the assistance of Grypus, and gave him his daughter Tryphena in marriage. Grypus, by the means of this aid, defeated Zebina, and obliged him to retire to Antioch. The latter formed a design of plundering the temple of Jupiter, to defray the expences of the war. Upon its being discovered, the inhabitants rose, and drove him out of the city. He wandered some time about the country from place to place, but was taken at last, and put to death.

(x) After the defeat and death of Zebina, Antiochus Grypus believing himself of sufficient years, resolved to take the government upon himself. The ambitious Cleopatra, who saw her power diminished, and grandeur eclipsed by that means, could not suffer it. To render herself absolute mistress of the government of Syria again, she resolved to rid herself of Grypus, as she had already done of his brother Seleucus, and to give the crown to another of her sons by Antiochus Sidetes, under whom, being an infant, she was in hopes of possessing the royal authority for many years, and of taking such measures as might establish her during her life. This wicked woman prepared a poisoned draught for that purpose, which she presented to Grypus one day as he returned very hot from some exercise. But that prince having been apprized of her design, desired her first, by way of respect, to drink the cup herself, and upon her obstinate refusal to do it, having called in some witnesses, he gave her to understand, that the only means she had to clear herself of

(u) A. M. 3882. Ant. J. C. 122. (x) A. M. 3884. Ant. J. C. 120.

* *Γρύψις* in Greek, signifies a man with an equine nose.

the suspicion conceived of her, was to drink the liquor she had presented to him. That unhappy woman, who found herself without evasion or resource, swallowed the draught. The poison had its effect immediately, and delivered Syria from a monster, who by her unheard-of crimes had been so long the scourge of the state. She had been the wife of three * kings of Syria, and the mother of four. She had occasioned the death of two of her husbands, and as to her children, she had murdered one with her own hands, and would have destroyed Grypus by the poison he made her drink herself. That prince afterwards applied himself with success to the affairs of the publick, and reigned several years in peace and tranquillity, till his brother, Antiochus of Cyzicum, occasioned the troubles we shall relate hereafter.

Ptolemy Physcon, king of Egypt (*y*), after having reigned twenty-nine years from the death of his brother Philometor, died at last in Alexandria. No reign was ever more tyrannical, nor abounded more with crimes than his.

SECT. VI. PTOLEMY LATHYRUS succeeds PHYSCON, War between GRYPUS and his brother ANTIOCHUS of Cyzicum, for the kingdom of Syria. HYRCANUS fortifies himself in Judæa. His death. ARISTOBULUS succeeds him, and assumes the title of king. He is succeeded by ALEXANDER JANNÆUS. CLEOPATRA drives LATHYRUS out of Egypt, and places ALEXANDER his youngest brother on the throne in his stead. War between that princess and her sons. Death of GRYPUS. PTOLEMY APION leaves the kingdom of Cyrenaica to the Romans. Continuation of the wars in Syria and Egypt. The Syrians chuse TIGRANES king. LATHYRUS is re-established upon the throne of Egypt. He dies. ALEXANDER his nephew succeeds him. NICOMEDES, king of Bithynia, makes the Roman people his heirs.

PHYSCON (*z*) at his death left three sons. The first, named Apion, was a natural son, whom he had by a concubine. The two others were legitimate, and the children

(*y*) Porphy. in Græc. Euseb. Scal. Hieron. in Dan. ix. (*z*) A. M. 3887. Ant. J. C. 137. Justin. l. xxxix. c. 4, 5. Appian. in Mithrid. l. finem & in Syr. p. 132. Strab. l. xvii. p. 795. Plin. l. ii. c. 67, & l. vi. c. 70. Porphy. in Græc. Euseb. Scallig. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 13. Dion. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 385.

* The three kings of Syria, who had been her husbands, were Alexander Bala, Demetrius Nicator, and Antiochus Sidetes. Her four sons were Antiochus, by Alexander Bala; Seleucus and Antiochus Grypus, by Demetrius; and Antiochus the Cyprianion, by Antiochus Sidetes.

dren of his niece Cleopatra, whom he married after having repudiated her mother. The eldest was called Lathyrus, and the other Alexander. He left the kingdom of Cyrenaica by will to Apion, and Egypt to his widow Cleopatra, and to which of his two sons she should think fit to chuse. Cleopatra, believing that Alexander would be the most complaisant, resolved to chuse him; but the people would not suffer the eldest to lose his right of birth, and obliged the queen to recall him from Cyprus, whither she had caused him to be banished by his father, and to associate him with her on the throne. Before she would suffer him to take possession of the crown, she obliged him to repudiate his eldest sister Cleopatra, whom he passionately loved, and to take Selena, his younger sister, for whom he had no inclination. Dispositions of this kind promise no very pacifick reign.

At his coronation he took the title of Soter. Some authors give him that of Philometor; but the generality of historians distinguish him by the name of * Lathyrus. However, as that is but a kind of nickname, nobody dared to give it him in his own time.

(a) Antiochus Grypus, king of Syria, was making preparations for invading Judæa, when a civil war broke out to employ him, fomented by Antiochus of Cyzicum, his brother by the mother's side. He was the son of Antiochus Sidetes, and born whilst Demetrius was prisoner amongst the Parthians. When Demetrius returned, and re-possessed himself of his dominions after the death of Antiochus Sidetes, his mother, out of regard to his safety, had sent him to Cyzicum, a city situate upon the Propontis, in Mysia Minor, where he was educated by the care of a faithful eunuch, named Craterus, to whom she had entrusted him. From thence he was called the Cyziceniian. Grypus, to whom he gave umbrage, was for having him poisoned. His design was discovered, and the Cyziceniian was reduced to take up arms in his own defence, and to endeavour to make good his pretensions to the crown of Syria.

(b) Cleopatra, whom Lathyrus had been obliged to repudiate, finding herself at her own disposal, married the Cyziceniian. She brought him an † army for her dowry, to

(a) A. M. 3890. Ant. J. C. 114.

* Λαθύρ: signifies a kind of pea, called in Latin cicer, from subib came the surname of Cicero. Lathyrus must have had some very visible mark of this sort upon his face,

(b) A. M. 3891. Ant. J. C. 115.

or the name had been inconsistent.

† We find in the latter edition of Justin the following word; exercitum Grypi sollicitatum, velut dotalium, ad maritum deductum; which

him against his competitor. Their forces, by that means, grew very near equal, the two brothers came to a battle, in which the Cyzicenean having the misfortune to be defeated, fled to Antioch. He left his wife for her security in that city, and went himself to raise new troops for the reinforcement of his army.

But Grypus immediately laid siege to the city, and took Cleopatra his prisoner into her hands. Though her father and mother, she was so excessively enraged at her husband having married their enemy, and given him an army against them, that she resolved to deprive her of life. Cleopatra had taken refuge in a sanctuary, which was held inviolable; Grypus would not have a complaisance for his wife, which he saw would be attended with fatal effects from the excess of her rage. He alledged to her the sanctity of the place where her sister had taken refuge; and represented, that her death would neither be of use to them, nor of prece to the Cyzicenean. That in all the civil or foreign wars, wherein his ancestors had been engaged, it had never been known, after victory, that any cruelty had been exercised against the women, especially so near relations. That Cleopatra was her sister, and his near relation. That therefore he desired her to speak no more of her death, because he could by no means consent to her being treated with any severities. † Tryphena, far from being into his reasons, became more violent by conceiving jealousy; and imagining that it was not from the motive of passion, but love, that her husband took the part of that unfortunate princess in such a manner, she therefore sent messengers into the temple, who could not tear her in any other manner from the altar, than by cutting off her hands, which she embraced it. Cleopatra expired, uttering a thousand curses against the parricides who were the authors of her death, and imploring the god, in whose temple so barbarous a cruelty was committed, to avenge her on them.

However, the other Cleopatra, the common mother of the two sisters, did not seem to be affected at all with either of these events.

b shows, that Cleopatra having aided in corrupting part of Grypus's army, carried it to her husband. Several editions read Cyprius of Grypi, which implies, Cleopatra had an army in Grypus's

* Her father Phrycon was the uncle of Cleopatra, Grypus's mother.

† Sed quanto Grypus avari, tanto muliebri pertinacia accenditur, rata non misericordie hæc verba, sed amoris esse. Justin.

the fate of the one, or the crime of the other. Her heart, which was solely susceptible of ambition, was so taken up with the desire of reigning, that she had no other thoughts than of the means of supporting herself in Egypt, and of retaining an absolute authority in her own hands during her life. To strengthen herself the better, she gave the kingdom of Cyprus to Alexander her youngest son, in order to draw from him the assistance she might have occasion for, in case Lathyrus should ever dispute the authority she was determined to keep.

(c) The death of Cleopatra in Syria did not long remain unpunished. The Cyzicemian returned at the head of a new army to give his brother battle a second time, defeated him, and took Tryphena, upon whom he inflicted the torments her cruelty to her sister had well deserved.

(d) Grypus was obliged to abandon Syria to the victor. He retired to Aspendus in Pamphylia, which occasioned his being sometimes called in history the Aspendian, but returned a year after into Syria, and repossessed himself of it. The two brothers at length divided that empire between them. The Cyzicemian had Cœlosyria and Phœnicia, and took up his residence at Damascus. Grypus had all the rest, and kept his court at Antioch. Both gave alike into luxury, and many other excesses.

Whilst the two brothers (e) were exhausting their force against one another, or indolently dozed after the peace in luxurious sloth and ease, John Hyrcanus augmented his wealth and power; and seeing that he had nothing to fear from them, he undertook to reduce the city of Samaria. He sent Aristobulus and Antigonus, two of his sons, to form the siege of that place. The Samaritans demanded aid of the Cyzicemian, king of Damascus, who marched thither at the head of an army. The two brothers quitted their lines, and a battle ensued, wherein Antiochus was defeated, and pursued as far as Scythopolis, escaping with great difficulty.

(f) The two brothers after this victory returned to the siege, and pressed the city so vigorously, that it was obliged a second time to send to the Cyzicemian, to solicit him to come again to its aid. But he had not troops enough to undertake the raising of the siege; and Lathyrus, king of Egypt, was treated with upon the same head, who granted

(c) A. M. 3892. Ant. J. C. 112. (d) A. M. 3893. Ant. J. C. 111. (e) A. M. 3894. Ant. J. C. 113. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 17-19. (f) A. M. 3895. Ant. J. C. 109.

ten thousand men, contrary to the opinion of Cleopatra his mother. As Chelcias and Ananias, two Jews, were her favourites, both ministers and generals, the sons of Onias, who built the temple of Egypt, those two ministers, who entirely governed her, influenced her in favour of their nation, and out of regard for them, she would not do anything to the prejudice of the Jews. She was almost resolved to expose Lathyrus for having engaged in this war without her consent, and even against her will.

When the auxiliary troops of Egypt arrived, the Cyziceian joined them with his. He was afraid to attack the army that formed the siege, and contented himself with flying parties and excursions, to ravage the country by way of diversion, and to reduce the enemy to raise the siege, in order to defend themselves at home. But seeing that the Jewish army did not move, and that his own was much diminished by the desert of some parties, desertion, and other accidents; he thought it improper to expose his person by continuing in the field with an army so much weakened, and retired to Tripoli. He left the command of his troops to two of his best generals, Callimander and Epicrates. The first was killed in a rash enterprise, in which his whole party perished with him. Epicrates, seeing no hopes of success, had no farther thoughts of serving his private interest in the best manner he could in the present situation of affairs. He treated secretly with Hyrcanus, and for a sum of money put Scythopolis into his hands, with all the other places which the Syrians possessed in the country, without regard to his duty, honour, and reputation; and all for a sum perhaps inconsiderable enough.

Samaria, destitute of all appearance of relief, was obliged, after having sustained a siege for a year, to surrender at last to Hyrcanus, who immediately ordered it to be demolished. The walls of the city, and the houses of the inhabitants, were entirely razed and laid level with the ground; and, to prevent its being rebuilt, he caused large and deep ditches to be cut through the new plain where the city had stood, into which water was turned. It was not re-established till the time of Herod, who gave the new city, he caused to be rebuilt there, the name of Sebastos *, in honour of Augustus.

Hyrcanus saw himself at that time master of all Judæa, Galilee, Samaria, and of many places upon the frontiers, and became thereby one of the most considerable princes of

* Σεβαστος, in Greek, signifies Augustus.

his times. None of his neighbours dared to attack him more, and he passed the rest of his days in perfect tranquility with regard to foreign affairs.

(g) But towards the close of his life he did not find the same repose at home. The Pharisees, a violent and seditious sect, gave him abundance of difficulties. By an affected profession of an attachment to the law, and a severe manner, they had acquired a reputation which gave them great sway amongst the people. Hyrcanus had endeavoured by all sorts of favours, to engage them in his interests. Having been educated amongst them, and having always professed their sect, he had protected and served upon all occasions; and to make them more firmly his adherents, not long before he had invited the heads of the sect to a magnificent entertainment, in which he made a speech to them, highly capable of affecting rational minds. He presented, that it had always been his intention, as well as theirs, to be just in his actions towards men, and all things in regard to God, that might be agreeable to the doctrine taught by the Pharisees: that he conjured them therefore, if they saw that he departed from any thing from the great end he proposed to himself in two rules, that they would give him their instruction in order to his amending and correcting his errors. Such a disposition is highly laudable in princes, and in all men it ought to be attended with prudence and discernment.

The whole assembly applauded this discourse, and he praised him for it. One man only, named Eleazar, turbulent and seditious spirit, rose up, and spoke to him to this effect: "Since you desire that the truth should be known to you with freedom, if you would prove yourself just, renounce the high-priesthood, and content yourself with a civil government." Hyrcanus was surprized, and he told him what reasons he had to give him such counsel. He replied, that it was known, from the testimony of all persons worthy of belief, that his mother was a captive, that as the son of a stranger, he was incapable by the law of holding that office. If the fact had been true, Eleazar would have had reason; for the law was express in that point, but it was a false supposition, and a mere calumny; and that were present extremely blamed him for advancing it, expressed great indignation upon that account.

This adventure, however, occasioned great troubles. Hyrcanus was highly incensed at so insolent an attempt to

his mother, and call in question the purity of his birth, in consequence, his right to the high-priesthood. Jonathan, his intimate friend, and a zealous Sadducee, took the stage of this opportunity to incense him against the Pharisee party, and to bring him over to that of the Sadducees.

Two powerful sects in Judæa, but directly opposite to each other in sentiments and interests, entirely divided the nation; that of the Pharisees, and that of the Sadducees. The Pharisees distinguished themselves upon an exact observance of the law; which they added a great number of traditions, that they pretended to have received from their ancestors, and to which they much more strictly adhered than to the law itself, though contrary to each other. They acknowledged the immortality of the soul, and, in consequence, another life after this. They affected an outside of virtue, regularity, austerity, which acquired them great consideration with the people. But under that imposing appearance they concealed the greatest vices: sordid avarice, insupportable pride; an insatiable thirst of honours and distinctions; a constant desire of ruling alone; an envy, that rose almost to madness against all merit but their own; an irreconcilable hatred for all who presumed to contradict them; a spirit of rage capable of the most horrid excesses; and what was their more distinguishing characteristic, and outdid all the rest, a black hypocrisy, which always wore the mask of piety. The Sadducees rejected the Pharisaical traditions with contempt, denied the immortality of the soul, and the resurrection of the body, and admitted no felicity, but that to be enjoyed in this life. The rich people, nobility, and most of those who composed the Sanhedrim, that is to say, the council of the Jews, in which the affairs of state and religion were determined, were of the latter sect.

Jonathan, therefore, to bring over Hyrcanus into his party, insinuated to him, that what had passed was not the suggestion of Eleazar, but a trick concerted by the Pharisees, of which Eleazar had only been the tool; and that to convince him of the truth, he had only to consult them. He then represented to him the punishment which the calumniator deserved; that he would find, if he thought fit to make the experiment, by their conduct in favour of the criminal, that they were all of them his accomplices. Hyrcanus followed his advice, and threatened the principal of the Pharisees upon the punishment of death, who had so grossly defamed the prince and high-priest, of his people, expecting that they would undoubtedly condemn him to die. But their answer was that calumny was

the Jews twenty-nine years.

Not to interrupt the history of other kingdoms, reserve the greatest part of what regards the successors canus for the article in which I shall treat the history Jews separately.

We have seen that Ptolemy Lathyrus (*k*) had sent a into Palestine to aid Samaria, contrary to the advice mother, and notwithstanding her opposition. She can resentment so high upon this attempt, and some other like nature, against her authority, that she took I Selena from him, by whom he had two sons *, and him to quit Egypt. Her method to do this, was some of his favourite eunuchs wounded, and produce assembly of the people at Alexandria. She caused reported, that he had used them so barbarously for endeavoured to defend her against his violence, and e the people so much by this black fiction, which co them that he designed to kill her, that they immediat universally against Lathyrus, and would have torn pieces, if he had not escaped from the port in a ship set sail as soon as he got on board. Cleopatra sent so for Alexander her youngest son, to whom she had g kingdom of Cyprus, and made him king of Egypt brother's stead, whom she obliged to content himself kingdom of Cyprus, which the other quitted.

nents, from the apprehension of having him for their
 after, Lathyrus dissembled his resentment for the present.
 e was upon the point of concluding a treaty with Alex-
 nder, when he was apprized that the latter was negotiating
 cretely with Cleopatra, to engage her to join him with all
 r forces, in order to drive him out of Palestine. Lathyrus
 came his declared enemy, and resolved to do him all the
 rt he could.

The next year he did not fail in that point. He divided
 s army into two bodies, and detached one of them, under
 e command of one of his generals, to form the siege of Pto-
 nais, with which place he had reason to be dissatisfied;
 d with the other marched in person against Alexander.
 re inhabitants of Gaza had supplied Lathyrus with a confi-
 rable number of troops. A bloody battle was fought be-
 een them upon the banks of the Jordan. Alexander lost
 ,000 men, without including the prisoners taken by Lathyr-
 after the victory.

A most cruel and horrid action is related of Lathyrus upon
 s occasion. The same evening he gained this battle, in-
 ing to take up his quarters in the neighbouring villages,
 found them full of women and children, and caused them
 to be put to the sword, and their bodies to be cut in pieces
 d put into cauldrons, in order to their being dressed, as if
 intended to make his army sup upon them. His design
 s to have it believed, that his troops eat human flesh, to
 ead the greater terror throughout the country. Could one
 lieve such a barbarity possible, or that any man should ever
 ceive so wild a thought? Josephus reports this fact upon
 authority of Strabo, and another author.

Lathyrus, after the defeat of Alexander, not having any
 rmy in the field, ravaged and laid waste all the flat country.
 ithout the succours brought by Cleopatra the following year
 exander had been undone, for after so considerable a loss
 was impossible for him to retrieve his affairs, and make head
 ainst his enemy.

(m) That princess saw plainly, that if Lathyrus made him-
 f master of Judæa and Phœnicia, he would be in a condi-
 n to enter Egypt, and to dethrone her; and that it was
 cessary to put a stop to his progress. For that purpose she
 sed an army, and gave the command of it to Chelcias and
 anias, the two Jews of whom we have spoken before.
 e fitted out a fleet at the same time, to transport her troops;

and

...the ...
...as long
...the ...
...Cleopatra made
...which he
...She d
...and w
...the siege of
...the first
...his death
...advantage of
...with all
...without defence
...her best
...The troops
...the arrival of th
...upon recei
...to return into
...to Gaza.

...pushed the
...that she at last to
...Alexander made her a vi
...to recommend him
...to his success, w
...which was alone suffici
....

Some persons of Cleopatra's co
...a fair opportunity of
...Alexander's domin
...even pressed her to take a
...had it not been
...to her, how base and inf
...in that manner, engaged

would be acting contrary to honour and faith, which foundations of society; that such a conduct would be prejudicial to her interests, and would draw upon her the enmity of all the Jews dispersed throughout the land.

In fine, he so effectually used his reasons and credit, he employed to the utmost for the preservation of his man and relation, that she came into his opinion, and concluded her alliance with Alexander. Of what value to a king is a wise minister, who has courage enough to oppose unjust undertakings with vigour! Alexander returned to Jerusalem, where he at length set another good army on foot, with which he passed the Jordan, and formed the siege of Gaza.

Ptolemy Lathyrus, after having wintered at Gaza, finding that his efforts would be ineffectual against Palestine, his mother supported it, abandoned that design, and returned into Cyprus. She, on her side, retired into Egypt, and the country was delivered from her.

(9) informed, upon her return into Alexandria, that she had entered into a treaty at Damascus with Antiochus Cyzicenean, and that with the aid he expected from him he was preparing to make a new attempt for the recovery of the crown of Egypt; that queen, to make a divorce from her daughter Selena, whom she had taken from him, to Antiochus Grypus, and sent him, at the same time, a considerable number of troops, and great sums of money, to put him into a condition to attack his brother the king with vigour. The affair succeeded as she had intended. The war was renewed between the two brothers, and Antiochus Cyzicenean had so much employment upon his hands, that he was in no condition to assist Lathyrus, who was thereby obliged to abandon his design.

Ptolemy Alexander, his younger brother, whom she had placed upon the throne in conjunction with herself, shocked at the barbarous cruelty with which she pursued his brother, and especially in depriving him of his wife to give her to another, and observing besides, that the greatest crimes were committed for nothing, when the gratification of her ambition was the end; that prince did not believe himself safe near her, and chose to abandon the throne and retire; preferring a life without fear in banishment, to reigning with so cruel a mother, with whom he was perpetually in danger. It was not without abundant solicitation he was prevailed

O 4

prevailed upon to return; for the p... not resolve that she should reign alone, though t... well; s... that she gave her son only the name of king; t... the death of Physcon he had always engrossed the royal authority to herself; and that the real cause of Lathyrus's disgrace, which had cost him his crown and wife, was his having presumed to act in one instance without her.

(r) The death of Antiochus Grypus happened this year. He was assassinated by Heracleon, one of his own vassals, after having reigned twenty-seven years. He left five sons; Seleucus the eldest succeeded him; the four others were Antiochus and Philip, twins; Demetrius Eucharès, and Antiochus Dionysius. They were all kings in their turns, or at least pretended to the crown.

Ptolemy Apion (s), son of Physcon, king of Egypt, to whom his father had given the kingdom of Cyrenaica, dying without issue, left his kingdom to the Romans by will, who, instead of taking advantage of that legacy, gave the cities their liberty, which soon filled the whole country with tyrants; because the most powerful persons of each of those small states were for making themselves sovereigns of them. Lucullus in passing that way against Mithridates, remedied these disorders in some measure; but there was no other means of re-establishing peace and good order, than by reducing the country into a province of the Roman empire, as was afterwards done.

Antiochus the Cyzicenean seized Antioch (t), after the death of Grypus, and used his utmost endeavours to dispossess Grypus's children of the rest of the kingdom. But Seleucus, who was in possession of many other good cities, maintained himself against him, and found means to support his right.

Tigranes, son of Tigranes king of Armenia (u), who had been kept an hostage by the Parthians during the life of his father, was released at his death, and set upon the throne, on condition that he should resign certain places to the Parthians. This happened twenty-five years before he espoused the part of Mithridates against the Romans. I shall have occasion hereafter to speak of this Tigranes, and of the kingdom of Armenia.

The

(r) A. M. 3907. Ant. J. C. 97. (s) A. M. 3908. Ant. J. C. 96. Liv. Epit. l. lxx. Plut. in Lucul. p. 492. Justin l. xxxix. c. 2.

(t) A. M. 3909. Ant. J. C. 95. Porphy. in Græc. Scil. (u) A. M. 3909. Ant. J. C. 95. Justin. l. xxxv. c. 3. Appian. 1 Syr. p. 212. ib. l. xi. p. 532.

The Cyzicenean (*x*), who saw that Seleucus strengthened himself every day in Syria, set out from Antioch to give him battle; but being defeated, he was made prisoner, and put to death. Seleucus entered Antioch, and saw himself in possession of the whole empire of Syria; but could not keep it long. Antiochus Eusebes, son of the Cyzicenean, who made his escape from Antioch, when Seleucus took it, went to Aradus*, where he caused himself to be crowned king. (*y*) From thence he marched with a considerable army against Seleucus, obtained a great victory over him, and obliged him to shut himself up in Mopsuestia, a city of Cilicia, and to abandon all the rest to the mercy of the victor. In this retirement he oppressed the inhabitants so much by the imposition of gross subsidies upon them, that at length they mutinied, invested the house where he resided, and set it on fire. Himself, and all who were in it, perished in the flames.

(*z*) Antiochus and Philip, the twin-sons of Grypus, to revenge the death of their brother Seleucus, marched at the head of all the troops they could raise against Mopsuestia. They took and demolished the city, and put all the inhabitants to the sword. But on their return, Eusebes charged them near the Orontes, and defeated them. Antiochus was drowned in endeavouring to swim his horse over that river. Philip made a fine retreat with a considerable body of men, which soon increased to such a number, as enabled him to keep the field, and dispute the empire with Eusebes.

The latter, to strengthen himself upon the throne, had married Selenia the widow of Grypus. That politic princess, upon her husband's death, had found means to secure part of the empire in her own possession, and had provided herself with good troops. Eusebes married her therefore for the augmentation of his forces. Lathyrus, from whom she had been taken, to avenge himself for that injury, sent to Cnidos for Demetrius Eucharis, the fourth son of Grypus, who was brought up in that place, and made him king at Damascus. Eusebes and Philip were too much employed against each other to prevent that blow. For though Eusebes had well retrieved his affairs, and augmented his power by his marriage, Philip, however, still supported himself, and at last so totally defeated Eusebes in a great battle, that

O 5

he

(*x*) A. M. 3910. Ant. J. C. 94. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 25. Apian, in Syr. p. 132. Porphyre, in Græc. Scat. (*y*) A. M. 3911. Ant. J. C. 93.

(*z*) A. M. 3912. Ant. J. C. 92.

* An island and city of Phœnicia.

he was reduced to abandon his do-^{take refuge}
amongst the Parthians, whose kin^{at that} was Mithri-
dates II. surnamed the Great. The empire^{of Syria} by this
means became divided between Philip and Demetrius.

Two years after, Eusebes, assisted by the Parthians, re-
turned into Syria, re-possessed himself of part of what he
had before, and involved Philip in new difficulties. An-
other competitor fell also upon his hands, almost at the
same time: this was Antiochus Dionysius, his brother, the
fifth son of Grypus. He seized the city of Damascus, made
himself king of Coelosyria, and supported himself in it for
three years.

Affairs (a) were neither more quiet, nor crimes and perfidy
more rare in Egypt, than in Syria. Cleopatra, not being
able to suffer a companion in the supreme authority, nor to
admit her son Alexander to share the honour of the throne
with her, resolved to rid herself of him, in order to reign
alone for the future. That prince, who was apprized of her
design, prevented her, and put her to death. She was a
monster of a woman, who had spared neither mother, sons,
nor daughters, and had sacrificed every thing to the ambi-
tious desire of reigning. She was punished in this manner
for her crimes, but by a crime equal to her own.

I do not doubt, but the reader, as well as myself, is struck
with horror at the sight of so dreadful a scene as our history
has for some time exhibited. It furnishes us no where with
such frequent and sudden revolutions, nor with examples of
so many kings dethroned, betrayed, and murdered by their
nearest relations, their brothers, sons, mothers, wives,
friends, and confidants; who all in cold blood, with pre-
meditated design, reflection, and concerted policy, employ
the most odious and most inhuman means to those effects.
Never was the anger of heaven more distinguished, or more
dreadful than upon these princes and people. We see here a
sad complication of the blackest and most detestable crimes,
perfidy, imposture of heirs, divorces, poisoning, incest.
Princes on a sudden become monsters, disputing treachery
and wickedness with each other, attaining crowns with rapidity,
and disappearing as soon; reigning only to satiate their
passions, and to render their people unhappy. Such a situa-
tion of a kingdom, wherein all orders of the state are in con-
fusion, all laws despised, justice abolished, all crimes secure

(a) A. M. 3915. Ant. J. C. 89. *Justin.* l. xxxix. c. 64. *Paulin.* l.
Attic. p. 15. *Atten.* l. xii. p. 550.

of impunity, denotes approaching ruin, and seems to call for it in the loudest manner.

As soon as it was known at Alexandria, that Alexander had caused his mother to be put to death, that horrid crime made the parricide so odious to his subjects, that they could not endure him any longer. They expelled him, and called in Lathyrus, whom they replaced upon the throne, in which he supported himself to his death. Alexander having got some ships together, endeavoured to return into Egypt the year following, but without success. He perished soon after in a new expedition which he undertook.

The Syrians (*b*), weary of the continual wars made in their country by the princes of the house of Seleucus for the sovereignty, and not being able to suffer any longer the ravages, murders, and other calamities, to which they were perpetually exposed, resolved at last to exclude them all, and to submit to a foreign prince, who might deliver them from the many evils those divisions occasioned, and to restore the tranquillity of their country. Some had thoughts of Mithridates king of Pontus; others of Ptolemy king of Egypt. But the former was actually engaged in a war with the Romans, and the other had always been the enemy of Syria. They therefore determined upon electing Tigranes king of Armenia, and sent ambassadors to acquaint him with their resolution, and the choice they had made of him. He agreed to it, came to Syria, and took possession of the crown, which he wore eighteen years. He governed that kingdom fourteen years together by a viceroy named Megadates, whom he did not recall from that office, till he had occasion for him against the Romans.

Eusebes, being driven out of his dominions by his subjects and Tigranes, took refuge in Cilicia, where he passed the rest of his days in concealment and obscurity. As to Philip, it was not known what became of him. It is probable that he was killed in some action against Tigranes. Seleus, the wife of Eusebes, retained Ptolemais, with part of Phœnicia and Cœlosyria, and (*c*) reigned there many years after, which enabled her to give her two sons an education worthy of their birth. The eldest was called Antiochus Asiaticus, and the youngest Selencus Cybiosactes. I shall have occasion to speak of them in the sequel.

Q. 6

Some

(*b*) A. M. 3921: Ant. J. C. 83. Justin. l. xl. c. 1. & 2. Appian. in Syr. p. 118. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 24. (*c*) Cic. in Ver. p. 61. Appian. in Syr. p. 133. Strab. l. xvii. p. 196.

Some time (*d*) after Ptolemy Lathyrus had been replaced upon the throne of Egypt, a considerable rebellion broke out in the Upper Egypt. The rebels, being overthrown and defeated in a great battle, shut themselves up in the city of Thebes, where they defended themselves with incredible obstinacy. It was at length taken after a siege of three years. Lathyrus used it with so much rigour, that from being the greatest and richest city till then in Egypt, it was almost reduced to nothing.

(*e*) Lathyrus did not long survive the ruin of Thebes. To compute from the death of his father, he had reigned thirty-six years; eleven jointly with his mother in Egypt, eighteen in Cyprus, and seven alone in Egypt after his mother's death. Cleopatra, his daughter, succeeded him, who was his only legitimate issue. Her proper name was Berenice; but by the established custom of that house all the sons were called Ptolemy, and the daughter Cleopatra.

Sylla (*f*), at that time perpetual dictator of Rome, sent Alexander to take possession of the crown of Egypt, after the death of his uncle Lathyrus, as the nearest heir male of the defunct. He was the son of that Alexander, who had put his mother to death. But the people of Alexandria had already set Cleopatra upon the throne, and she had been six months in possession of it when Alexander arrived. To accommodate the difference, and not to draw Sylla, the master of Rome, and, in consequence, dispenser of law to the universe upon their hands, it was agreed, that Cleopatra and he should marry, and reign jointly. But Alexander, who could not approve of her for a wife, or would have no assistance in the throne, caused her to be put to death nineteen days after their marriage, and reigned alone fifteen years. Murder and parricide were no longer reckoned as any thing in those times, and might be said to have grown into custom among princes and princesses.

Some time (*g*) after, Nicomedes king of Bithynia, died, having first made the Roman people his heirs. His country, by that means became a province of the Roman empire, and Cyrenaica did also the same year. The Romans, instead of appropriating the latter to themselves, had granted it liberty.

Twent

(*d*) Pausan. in Attic. p. 15.

(*e*) A. M. 392nd. Ant. J. C. 18.

(*f*) Appian. de Bel. Civ. p. 414. Porphy. in O. Scul. p. 6.

(*g*) A. M. 3928. Ant. J. C. 76. Appian. l. *Mithridat.* p. 218. De Bel. Civil. l. i, p. 420. Liv. Epit. l. lxx, & xciii. *Phil.* Lucul. p. 492.

Twenty years had passed since, during which term sedition and tyranny had occasioned infinite calamities. It is said, that the Jews, who had been long settled there, and composed a great part of the nation, contributed very much to those disorders. The Romans, to put a stop to them, were obliged to accept Cyrenaica, which had been bequeathed to them by the last king's will, and to reduce it into a Roman province.

SECT. VII. SELENA, *sister of LATHYRUS conceives hopes of the crown of Egypt; she sends two of her sons to Rome for that purpose. The eldest, called ANTIOCHUS, on his return goes to Sicily. VERRERES, prætor of that island, takes from him a golden scone, designed for the Capitol. ANTIOCHUS, surnamed ASIATICUS, after having reigned four years over part of Syria, is dispossessed of part of his dominions by POMPEY, who reduces Syria into a province of the Roman empire. Troubles in Judæa and Egypt. The Alexandrians expel ALEXANDER their king, and set PTOLEMY AULETES on the throne in his stead. ALEXANDER, at his death, makes the Roman people his heirs. In consequence, some years after, they order PTOLEMY, king of Cyprus, brother of AULETES, to be deposed, confiscate his fortunes, and seize that island. The celebrated CATO is charged with this commission.*

(b) **S**OME * troubles which happened in Egypt, occasioned by the disgust taken against Alexander, made Selena, the sister of Lathyrus, conceive thoughts of pretending to the crown. She sent her two sons, Antiochus Asiaticus and Seleucus, whom she had by Antiochus Eusebes, to Rome, to solicit the senate in her behalf. The important affairs which employed Rome, at that time engaged in a war with Mithridates, and perhaps the motives of policy, from which she had always opposed the kings who were for joining the forces of Egypt with those of Syria, prevented the princes from obtaining what they demanded. After a resistance

(h) A. M. 3931. Ant. J. C. 73. Cic. vi. in Ver. Orat. n. 61. 67.

* Reges Syriæ, regis Antiochi filios pueros, scitis Romæ nuper fuisse: qui venerant non propter Syriæ regnum, nam id sine controversiâ obtinebant, ut a patre & a majoribus acceperant: sed regnum Ægypti ad se & Selenam

matrem suam pertinere arbitrabantur. Hi, postquam temporibus populi Romani exclusi, per senatum agere quæ voluerant non poterunt, in Syriam in regnum patrium profecti sunt.

dence of two years in Rome, and ineffectual solicitations, they set out upon their return into their own kingdom.

The eldest *, called Antiochus, resolved to pass by the way of Sicily. He experienced an insult there, which is hardly credible, and shews how much Rome was corrupted in the times we speak of, to what excess the avarice of the magistrates sent into the provinces rose, and what horrid rapine they committed with impunity, and in the sight and with the knowledge of the whole world.

Verres † was at that time the prætor in Sicily. As soon as he heard that Antiochus was arrived at Syracuse, as he had reason to believe, and had been told, that that prince had abundance of rare and precious things with him, he judged his arrival a kind of rich inheritance fallen to him. He began by sending Antiochus presents considerable enough, consisting in provisions of wine, oil, and corn. He then invited him to supper. The hall was magnificently adorned. The tables set off with all his vessels of the most excellent workmanship, of which he had a great number. The feast was sumptuous and delicate, for he had taken care that nothing should be wanting to make it so. In a word, the king withdrew, well convinced of the prætor's magnificence, and still better satisfied with the honourable reception he had given him.

He † invites Verres to supper in his turn; exposes all his riches, multitudes of silver vessels, and not few cups of gold set with jewels, after the custom of kings, and especially those of Syria. There was among the rest a very large vessel for wine, made out of one precious stone. Verres takes each of these vessels into his hand one after the other,

praises

* Eorum alter, qui Antiochus vocatur, iter per Siciliam facere voluit.

† Itaque isto (Verre) prætor venit Syracusas. Hic Verres hæreditatem sibi venisse arbitratus est; quod in ejus regnum ac manus veneratis, quem iste & audierat multa se um præclara habere, & suspicabatur. Mittit homini munera satis larga: hæc ad usum domesticum, vini, olei quod visum erat, etiam tritici quod satis esset. Deinde ipsum regem ad cœnam invitat. Exornat ample magnificæque triclinium. Exponit ea, quibus abundabat, plurima ac pulcherrima vasa argentea. — Om-

nibus curat rebus instructum & paratum ut sit convivium. Quid multa? Rex ita discessit, ut & istum copiose ornatum, & se honorifice acceptum arbitrassetur.

† Vocat ad cœnam deinde ipse prætorem. Exponit suas copias omnes: multum argentum, non pauca etiam pocula ex auro, qui ut mos est regius, & maxime in Syria, gemmis erant distincta clarissimis. Erat etiam vas vinarium ex una gemma pergrandi. — Iste unumquodque vos in manus sumere, laudare, mirari. Rex gaudere prætori, populi Romani satis jucundum & gratum illud est convivium.

and admires them; the king rejoices that the prætor the Roman people is so well pleased with his entertainment.

* thenceforth the latter had no other thoughts than to please Antiochus, and send him away fleeced and plundered all his rich effects. He sent to desire that he would have the finest of the vessels he had seen at his house, on pretence of shewing them to his workmen. The prince, did not know Verres, complied without difficulty or delay. The prætor sent again, to desire that he would have the vessel made of a single precious stone, that he might consider them more exactly, as he said. The king complied with that also.

to crown all, † the kings of Syria, of whom we had carried a branch-scone with them to Rome, of great beauty, as well from the precious stones with which they were adorned, as its exquisite workmanship. With this was intended to adorn the Capitol, which had been burnt in the wars between Marius and Sylla, and was then rebuilding. But that edifice not being finished, they would not set it behind them, nor suffer any body to have a sight in order, that when it should appear at a proper time the temple of Jupiter, the surprize might add to the beautification of it, and the charm of novelty give new lustre to the present. They therefore chose to carry it into Syria, resolving to send ambassadors to offer it as a great and magnificent gift, amongst many others, to the king, when they should know that his statue was set up in the temple.

Ver-

ba quam inde discessum
tare iste nihil aliud, quod
declaravit, nisi quemad-
modum ex provincia spo-
expilatumque dimitteret.
ogatum vasa ea, quæ pul-
a apud illum viderat: ait
ælatoribus velle ostendere.
vi istum non nosset, sine
picione libentissime dedit.
etiam trullam gemmeam
s velle se eam diligen-
tius considerare. Ea quoque mit-

ne reliquum, judices, at-
—gandelabrum è gem-
mâssimâ opere mirabili per-
reges hi, quos dico, Ro-

mam cum attulissent ut in Capito-
lio ponerent; quod nondum etiam
perfectum templum ostenderant,
neque ponere, neque vulgò osten-
dere ac proferre voluerunt; ut, &
magnificentius videretur, cum suo
tempore in sella Jovis Opt. Max.
poneretur, & clarius, cum pul-
chritudo ejus recens ad oculos ho-
minum atque integra perveniret.
Statuerunt id secum in Syriam re-
portare, ut, cum audissent simul-
acrum Jovis Opt. Max. dedica-
tum, legatos mitterent, qui cum
cæteris rebus illud quoque eximi-
um atque pulcherrimum donum
in Capitolium afferrent.

Verres * was informed of all this by some means or other; for the prince had taken care to keep the sponce concealed; not that he feared or suspected any thing, but that few people might see it before exposed to the publick view of the Romans. The prætor demanded it of the king, and earnestly begged him to send it him, expressing a great desire to examine it, and promising to let nobody else see it. The young prince, with the candour and simplicity of whose youth the noble sentiments of his birth were united, was far from suspecting any bad design. He ordered his officers to carry the sponce secretly to Verres, well covered from sight; which was done accordingly. As soon as the wrappers were taken off, and the prætor beheld it, he cried out, this is a present worthy of a prince; worthy of a king of Syria; worthy of the Capitol. For it was amazingly splendid, from the quantity of fine jewels with which it was adorned, and the variety of the workmanship, in which art seemed to vie with the materials; and at the same time of so large a size, that it was easy to distinguish, it was not intended to be used in the palaces of men, but to adorn a vast and superb temple. The officers of Antiochus having given the prætor full time to consider it, prepared to carry it back, but were told by him, that he would examine it more at his leisure, and that his curiosity was not yet sufficiently gratified. He then bade them go home, and leave the sponce with him. They accordingly returned without it.

The † king was not alarmed at first, and had no suspicion; one day, two days, several days passed, and the sponce was

* Pervenit res ad istius aures nescio quomodo. Nam rex id celatum voluerat: non quo quidquam metueret aut suspicaretur, sed ut ne multi illud ante perciperent oculis, quam populus Romanus. Ille petit a rege, cum plurimis verbis rogat, uti ad se mittat: cupere se dicit inspicere, neque se aliis videnti potestatem esse racturum. Antiochus, qui animo & puerili esset & regio, nihil de istius improbitate suspicatus est. Imperat suis, ut id in prætorium involutum quam occultissime deferrent. Quò posteaquam attulerunt, involutisque rejectis constituerunt, iste clamore cepit, dignam rem esse regno Syriæ, dignam regio munere, dignam Capi-

tolio. Etenim erat eo splendor qui ex clarissimis & plurimis gemmis esse debebat; ea varietate tum ut ars certare videretur in copia; ea magnitudine, ut intueri posset, non ad hominum usum tantum, sed ad amplissimi templi ornamentum, esse factum. Quod satis jam perspexisse videretur, tunc incipiunt ut referrent. Ille quæ velle illud etiam atque etiam considerare: nequaquam se esse satiatum. Jubet illos discedere, & delabrum relinquere. Sic illi inanes ad Antiochum revertuntur.

† Rex primo nihil metueret, nihil suspicari. Dies una, multiplices: non referri. Tum antiochus rex ad istum, si sibi videretur, reddat. Jubet ista postquam ad

brought home. The prince therefore sent to demand it of the prætor, who put it off till the next day; but it was returned then. At length he applied in person to him, & prayed him to restore it. Who would believe it? That sconece, which he knew from the prince himself was to be set up in the Capitol, and designed for the great Jupiter, the Roman people, Verres earnestly intreated the prince to give him. Antiochus excusing himself, both from the fact that he had made to consecrate it to Jupiter, and the judgment which the many nations that had been concerned in the guardianship of it, and knew for whom it was designed, would not pass upon such an action: the prætor began to threaten him in the sharpest terms; but when he saw his menaces had no more effect than his intreaties, he ordered the prince to quit his province before night, and alledged for his reason, that he had received advice from good hands; that pirates of war were about to land in Sicily.

The king upon that withdrew to the publick place, where, with tears in his eyes, declared with a loud voice, in a generous assembly of the Syracusans, calling the gods and men to witness, that Verres had taken from him a sconece of marble, enriched with precious stones, which was to have been set up in the Capitol, to be a monument in that august temple of his alliance and amity with the Roman people. That was not concerned, and did not complain, for the other spoils of gold and jewels which Verres had got from him; but that to see that sconece taken from him by violence, was

riti. Mirum illi videri. Mit-
teretur: non redditur. Ipse
invenit appellat: regat ut red-

Os hominis insignemque im-
munitiam cognoscite. Quod sciret,
que ex ipso rege audisset, in
collo esse ponendum; quod

Opt. Max. quod populo Rom.
videret, id sibi ut donaret,
& vehementer petere cœ-

Cum ille se religione Jovis
Capitolini & hominum existima-
re impediri diceret, quod multæ
res testes essent illius operis
muneris: iste homini minari
coepit. Ubi videt eum
magis minis quam precibus
joveri, repente hominem de
lacia jubet ante noctem disce-
re. Ait se comperisse, ex ejus reg-
natas in Siciliam esse venturos.

* Rex maximo conventu Syra-
censis, in foro, stans, deos homines-
que testantes, clamare cepit,
candelabrum factum e gemmis,
quod in Capitolium missurus esset,
quod in templo clarissima, populo
Rom. monumentum fœdæ societatis
amicitiæque esse voluisset, id sibi
C. Verrem abstulisse. De cæteris
operibus ex auro & gemmis, quæ
sua penes illum essent, se non la-
borare: hoc sibi eripi miserum esse
& indignum. Id etsi antea jam,
mente & cogitatione suæ fratrisque
sui, consecratum esset: tamen tum
se in illo conventu civium Roma-
norum dare, donare, dicere, con-
secrare, Jovi Opt. Max. testemque
ipsum Jovem suæ voluntatis ac re-
ligionis adhibere.

a misfortune and an affront, that made him inconsolable. That though by his own, and the intention of his brother, that scone was already consecrated to Jupiter, however, he offered, presented, dedicated, and consecrated it again to that god, in the presence of the Roman citizens, who heard him, and called Jupiter to witness to the sentiments of his heart, and the piety of his intentions.

(i) Antiochus Asiaticus, being returned into Asia, soon after ascended the throne; he reigned over part of the country for the space of four years. Pompey deprived him of his kingdom, during the war against Mithridates, and reduced Syria into a province of the Roman empire.

What thoughts could foreign nations conceive, and how odious ought the name of Roman to be to them when they heard it told, that in a Roman province, a king had been so grossly injured by the prætor himself, a guest plundered, an ally and friend of the Roman people driven away with the highest indignity and violence! and what Cicero reproaches Verres with in this place, was not peculiar to him; it was the crime of almost all the magistrates sent by Rome into provinces; a crime which the senate and people seemed to approve, and of which they made themselves equally guilty by their weak and abject connivance. "We have seen for several years," says the same Cicero, in another of his orations against Verres, "and have suffered in silence, the wealth of all nations to be transferred into the hands of a few private persons. Athens, Pergamus, Cyzicum, Miletum, Chio, Samos, in fine, all Asia, Achaia, Greece, Sicily, are now enclosed in some of the country-houses of those rich and unjust men of rapine, whilst money, universally a prodigious rarity every where else. And we have just reason to believe, that ourselves connive in all this crying and terrible disorders, as these who commit them no manner of pains to conceal them, nor to hide the thefts and depredations from the eyes and knowledge of the publick."

(i) A. M. 3059. Ant. J. C. 65.

* Patimur multos jam annos & silemus, cum videamus ad paucos homines omnes omnium nationum pecunias pervenisse. Quod eo magis ferre æquo animo atque concedere videmur, quia nemo istorum distulatur, nemo laborat, ut obscura sua cupiditas esse videatur. — Ubi pecunias exterarum nationum esse

arbitramini, quibus nunc coguntur, cum Athenas, Pergamum, Cyzicum, Miletum, Chium, Samum, totam denique Asiam, Achaiam, Græciam, Siciliam, in paucis villis inclusas esse videmus. Cic. in Ver. ult. de Sen. 125, 126.

Such was Rome at the time we now speak of, which soon occasioned its ruin, and the loss of its liberty. And, in my opinion, to consider in this manner the failings and vices that prevail in a state, to examine their causes and effects, to enter thus into men's most secret retirements, to use that expression, to study closely the characters and dispositions of those who govern, is a much more important part of history, than that which only treats of sieges, battles, and conquests: to which however we must return.

The reign of Alexander Jannæus in Judæa had always been involved in troubles and seditions, occasioned by the powerful faction of the Pharisees, that continually opposed him, because he was not of a disposition to suffer himself to be rid by them. His death (*k*) did not put an end to those disorders. Alexandra, his wife, was appointed supreme administratrix of the nation, according to the king's last will. She caused her eldest son Hyrcanus to be acknowledged high-priest. The Pharisees continually persisted in persecuting those who had been their enemies in the late reign. That princess, at her death, had appointed Hyrcanus her sole heir, but Aristobulus, his younger brother, had the strongest party and took his place.

Nothing (*l*) but troubles and violent agitations were to be seen on all sides. In Egypt, the Alexandrians, weary of their king Alexander, took up arms and expelled him, and called in Ptolemy Auletes. He was a bastard of Lathyrus, who never had a legitimate son. He was surnamed *Auletes*, that is to say, *the player upon the flute*, because he valued himself so much upon playing well upon that instrument, that he disputed the prize of it in the publick games. Alexander, being driven out in this manner, went to Pompey, who was then in the neighbourhood, to demand aid of him; Pompey would not interfere in his affairs, because they were foreign to his commission. That prince retired to Tyre, to wait there a more favourable conjuncture.

But none offered, and he died there some time after. Before his death he made a will, by which he declared the Roman people his heirs. The succession was important, and included all the dominions Alexander had possessed, and to which he had retained a lawful right, of which the violence he had sustained could not deprive him. The affair was taken into

(*k*) A. M. 3925. Ant. J. C. 75. Joseph. Antiquit. l. xlii. c. 23, 24. & de Bell. Judaic. l. 4. A. M. 3934. Ant. J. C. 70. (*l*) A. M. 3939. Ant. J. C. 65. Sueton. in Jul. Cæs. c. xl. Trogus in Prol. xxxix. Appian. in Mithridat. p. 251.

into consideration by the senate. Some (*m*) were of opinion, that it was necessary to take possession of Egypt, and of the island of Cyprus, of which the testator had been sovereign, and which he had bequeathed in favour of the Roman people. The majority of the senators did not approve this advice. They had very lately taken possession of Bithynia, which had been left them by the will of Nicomedes, and of Cyrenaica and Libya, which had been also given them by that of Apion; and they had reduced all those countries into Roman provinces. They were afraid, that if they also accepted Egypt and the isle of Cyprus, in virtue of a like donation, that their facility in accumulating provinces to provinces, might give too great umbrage, and express too clearly a design formed to engross in the same manner all other states. They believed besides, that this enterprize might involve them in another war, which would embarrass them very much, whilst they had that with Mithridates upon their hands. So that they contented themselves for the present with causing all the effects, which Alexander had at his death, to be brought from Tyre, and did not meddle with the rest of his estates. This proceeding sufficiently implied, that they did not renounce the will, as the sequel will fully explain.

This is the fourth example of dominions left the Roman people by will; a very singular custom, and almost unheard-of in all other history, which undoubtedly does great honour to those in whose favour it was established. The usual methods of extending the bounds of a state, are war, victory, and conquest. But with what enormous injustice and violence are those methods attended, and how much devastation and blood must it cost to subject a country by force of arms? In this there is nothing cruel and inhuman, and neither tears nor blood are shed. It is a pacifick and legitimate increase of power, the simple acceptance of a voluntary gift. Subjection here has nothing of violence to enforce it, and proceeds from the heart.

There is another sort of violence, which has neither the name nor appearance of being so, but it is no less dangerous on that account, I mean seduction: When to obtain the suffrages of a people, undermining arts, indirect means, secret collusions, and great donations of money, are employed to corrupt the fidelity of the persons of the highest credit and authority in states and kingdoms, and events are influenced, in which the principal agents act at a distance, and do not
seem

o have any share. In this we now speak of, there was ble trace of a policy so common with princes, and , far from making any scruple of it, they imagine for glory.

alus, who was the first, if I am not mistaken, that sted the Roman people his heirs, had not engaged in sifst union with that republick, during the short time gnod. As for Ptolemy Apion, king of Cyrenaica, the ns, far from using any arts to attain the succession to minions, renounced it, left the people in the full en- nt of their liberty, and would not accept the inheri- afterwards, till they were in some measure obliged to inst their will. It does not appear that they were more ous, either in publick or private, with Nicomedes king hynia, or Ptolemy Alexander king of Egypt.

at motives then induced these princes to act in this er? First, gratitude: the house of Attalus was indebt- all its splendor to the Romans; Nicomedes had been ded by them against Mithridates: and next, love for people, the desire of procuring a lasting tranquillity for and the idea they had of the wisdom, justice, and modera- f the Roman power. They died without children, or law- successors; for bastards were not looked upon as such.

had only in view the future divisions and civil wars might arise about the choice of a king, of which t and Syria supplied them with dreadful examples. saw with their own eyes, the tranquillity and happiness ed by many cities and nations under the protection of the in people.

prince, in the situation of which we speak, had but things to chuse; either to leave his throne to the am- of the grandees of his kingdom; to restore to his ts their entire liberty, by instituting republican govern-; or to give his kingdom to the Romans.

ie first choice undoubtedly exposed the kingdom to all orrors of a civil war, which the factions and jealousies e great would not fail to excite, and continue with heat fury: and the prince's love for his subjects induced him ure them misfortunes as fatal as inevitable.

ie execution of the second choice was impracticable. e are many nations, whose genius, manners, characters, abit of living, do not admit their being formed into re- cks. They are not capable of that uniform equality, dependance upon mute laws that have not weight enough force their obedience. They are made for monarchy,
and

and every other kind of government the natural frame of their minds. Cyrenæ, which has a share in the present question, is a people of this kind; and all ages and climates supply us with examples of the same kind.

A prince therefore, at his death, could not do more wisely than to leave his subjects the alliance and protection of a people, feared and respected by the whole universe, and therefore capable of defending them from the unjust and violent attempts of their neighbours. How many civil divisions and bloody discords did he spare them by this kind of testamentary disposition? This appears from the example of Cyrenæa. The Romans out of a noble disinterestedness, having refused the gift the king had made them of it at his death, that unhappy kingdom, abandoned to liberty and its own will, gave itself up to cabals and intrigues. Torn by a thousand factions, furious to madness against each other, and, in a word, become like a ship without a pilot in the midst of the most violent storms, it suffered many years the most incredible calamities; the only remedy of which was to pass, and in some manner to force, the Romans to vouchsafe to take the government of it upon themselves.

Besides this, a prince by such conduct did no more than prevent, and that advantageously for his people, what must necessarily have happened sooner or later. Was there any city or state capable of making head against the Romans? Could it be expected, that a kingdom, especially when the royal family was extinct, could support itself, and its independence, long against them? There was an inevitable necessity for its falling into the hands of that people, and for that reason it was highly consistent with prudence to fasten the yoke by a voluntary subjection. For they made great difference between the people who submitted to them freely, as to friends and protectors, and those who they yielded to them out of force, after a long and obstinate resistance, and being reduced, by reiterated defeats, to give up at last to a conqueror. We have seen with what freedom the Macedonians, at least the principal persons of the nation, and after them the Achæans, were treated; especially during the first years of their subjection.

The other nations suffered nothing of that kind, and generally speaking, of all foreign yokes, none ever was lighter than that of the Romans. Scarce could its weight be perceived by those who bore it. The subjection of these nations to the Roman empire, even under the emperors themselves, was mild.

rather a means to assure the publick tranquillity, than a servitude heavy upon private persons, and prejudicial to society. Most of the cities were governed by their ancient laws, had always their own magistrates, and wanted very little of enjoying intire liberty. They were by that means secured from all the inconveniences and misfortunes of a war with their neighbours, which had so long and so cruelly distressed the republic of Greece in the time of their ancestors. So that the Greeks seemed to be great gainers in ransoming themselves from these inconveniences, by some diminution of their liberty.

It is true, the provinces sometimes suffered very much from the avarice of governors. But those were only transient evils, which had no long effects, and to which the goodness and justice of a worthy successor applied a speedy redress, and which, after all, were not comparable to the disorders with which the wars of the Athenians, Thebans, and Lacedæmonians against each other, were attended, and still less to the violences and ravages, occasioned by the insatiable avarice and barbarous cruelty of the tyrants in many cities and states.

An evident proof of the wisdom of the princes, in leaving their dominions to the Romans after their death, is, that their people never exclaimed against that disposition, nor proceeded to any revolt of their own accord, to prevent its taking effect.

I do not pretend to excuse the Romans entirely in this place, nor to justify their conduct in all things. I have sufficiently observed the views of interest, and political motives of their actions. I only say, that the Roman government, especially with regard to those who submitted voluntarily to them, was gentle, humane, equitable, advantageous to the people, and the source of their peace and tranquillity. There were indeed private oppressors, who made the Roman people authorize the most flagrant injustice, of which we shall soon see an example: but there was always a considerable number of citizens, zealous for the publick good, who rose up against those violences, and declared loudly for justice. This happened in the affair of Cyprus, which it is now time to relate.

Clodius (*n*), who commanded a small fleet near Cilicia, was defeated and taken prisoner by the pirates of that coast, against whom he had been sent. He caused Ptolemy king of Cyprus, brother of Ptolemy Auletes, to be desired in his

name

(*) A. M. 3946. Ant. J. C. 56. Strab. l. iv. p. 684.

Roman people by the will of Alexander, who died. It was determined, in consequence, that the kingdom of Egypt, and that of Cyprus, which depended on it, remained to the Romans in virtue of that donation; and accordingly obtained an order of the people to seize the kingdom of Cyprus, to depose Ptolemy, and to confiscate his effects. To put so unjust an order in execution, he wanted credit and address enough to have the suffrage of the people. I mean Cato, whom he removed from the island, under the pretext of an honourable commission. Cato might not find him an obstacle to the violent and ambitious designs he meditated. Cato was therefore sent into Cyprus, to deprive a prince of his kingdom, who would not have that affront, says an historian, for his many injuries; as if a man's vice sufficiently authorized seizing his fortunes.

Cato (*c*), upon his arrival at Rhodes, sent to bid him retire peaceably, and promised him, if he complied, to cure him the high-priesthood of the temple of Vesta at Paphos, the revenues of which were sufficiently considerable for his honourable subsistence. Ptolemy rejected this offer. He was not, however, in a condition to defend himself against the power of the Romans; but could not after having worn a crown so long, to live as a private person. Determined therefore to end his life and reign, he embarked with all his treasures and

not the courage to include his innocent and well-beloved treasures thereby in his ruin; and thereby * shewed, that he loved them better than he did himself; by title king of Cyprus, but in fact the mean slave of his money. He returned to shore, and replaced his gold in his magazines, after which he poisoned himself, and left the whole to his enemies. Cato carried those treasures the following year to Rome. The sum was so large, that in the greatest triumphs the like had scarce been laid up in the publick treasury. Plutarch makes it amount to almost 7000 talents, (1,050,000 l. sterling.) Cato caused all Ptolemy's precious effects and moveables to be sold publickly; reserving only to himself a picture of Zeno, the founder of the Stoicks, the sentiments of which sect he followed.

The Roman people here take off the mask, and shew themselves not such as they had been in the glorious ages of the republick, full of contempt for riches, and esteem for poverty, but as they were become, after gold and silver had entered Rome in triumph with their victorious generals. Never was any thing more capable of disgracing and reproaching the Romans than this last action. "† The Roman people," says Cicero, "instead of making it their honour and almost their duty, as formerly, to re-establish the kings their enemies, whom they had conquered, upon their thrones, now see a king, their ally, or at least a constant friend to the republick, who had never done them any wrong, of whom neither the senate nor any of our generals had ever the least complaint, who enjoyed the dominions left him by his ancestors in tranquillity, plundered on a sudden without any formality, and all his effects sold by auction almost before his eyes, by order of the same Roman

* *Proculdubio hic non possedit divitias, sed a divitiis possessus est; titulo rex insulæ, animo pecunie miserabile mancipium.*

† Ptolemæus, rex, si nondum socius at non hostis, pacatus, quiescens, fretus imperio populi Rom. regno paterno atque avito regali otio perfruebatur. De hoc nihil cogitante, nihil suspicante, est rogatum, ut sedens cum purpura & sceptro & illis insignibus regis, præconi publico succiceretur, & imperante populo Rom. qui etiam victis bello regibus regna reddere consuevit, rex amicus, nulla

injuriam commemorata, nullis repositis rebus, cum bonis omnibus publicaretur — Cyprius miser, qui semper socius, semper amicus, fuit; de quo nulla unquam suspicio durior aut ad senatum, aut ad imperatores nostros allata est: vivus (ut aiunt) est & videns, cum victu & vestitu suo, publicatus. En ceteri reges stabilem esse suam fortunam arbitrentur, cum hoc illius funesti anni perditio exemplo videant, per tribunal aliquem se fortunæ spoliari (posse) & regno omni nudari. *Cic. Orat. pro Sextio. n. 57.*

“people. This,” continues Cicero, “shews other k
 “upon what they are to rely for their security; from
 “fatal example they learn, that amongst us, there i
 “only the secret intrigue of some seditious tribune, fo
 “priving them of their thrones, and plundering them a
 “same time of all their fortunes.”

What I am most amazed at is, that Cato, the justest
 most upright man of those times, (but what was the
 shining virtue and justice of the Pagans!) should lend
 name and service in so notorious an injustice. Cicero,
 had reasons for sparing him, and dared not blame his cor
 openly, shews, however, in the same discourse I have
 cited, but in an artful and delicate manner, and by w
 excusing him, how much he had dishonoured himself by
 action.

During Cato's stay at Rhodes, Ptolemy Auletes, kin
 Egypt, and brother to him of Cyprus, came thither to
 I reserve for the following book the history of that pr
 which merits a particular attention.



BOOK THE TWENTIETH.

THE HISTORY OF Alexander's Successors, CONTINUED.

THE twentieth book is divided into three articles, which are all abridgments: the first, of the history of the Jews, from the reign of Aristobulus to that of Herod the Great; the second of the history of the Parthians, from the establishment of that empire to the defeat of Crassus; the third of the history of the kings of Cappadocia, to the annexing of that kingdom to the Roman empire.

A R T I C L E I.

abridgment of the history of the Jews, from ARISTOBULUS, son of HYRCANUS, who first assumed the rank of king, to the reign of HEROD the Great, the Idumean.

AS the history of the Jews is often intermixed with that of the kings of Syria and Egypt, I have taken care, as occasion offered, to relate of it what was most necessary and material to my subject. I shall add here what remains of that story to the reign of Herod the Great. The historian Josephus, who is in every one's hands, will satisfy the curiosity of such as are desirous of being more fully informed in it. An Pridenax, whom I have used here, may be also consulted to the same effect.

SECT. I. *Reign of ARISTOBULUS the first, which lasted two years.*

HYRCANUS, high priest and prince of the Jews (*a*), had left five sons at his death. The first was Aristobulus, the second Antigonus, the third Alexander Jannæus, the fourth's name is unknown. The fifth was called Abfalom.

Aristobulus, as the eldest, succeeded his father in the high-priesthood and temporal sovereignty. As soon as he saw himself well established, he assumed the diadem and title of king, which none of those who had governed Judæa from the Babylonish captivity had done besides himself. The conjuncture seemed favourable for that design. The kings of Syria and Egypt, who were alone capable of opposing it, were weak princes, involved in domestick troubles and civil wars, little secure upon the throne, and not maintaining themselves long in the possession of it. He knew the Romans were much inclined to authorize the dismembering and dividing the dominions of the Grecian kings, in order to weaken and keep them low in comparison with themselves. Besides, it was natural for Aristobulus to take the advantage of the victories and acquisitions made by his ancestors, who had given an assured and uninterrupted establishment to the Jewish nation, and enabled it to support the dignity of a king amongst its neighbours.

Aristobulus's mother, in virtue of Hyrcanus's will, pretended to the government; but Aristobulus was the stronger, and put her in prison, where he caused her to be starved to death. For his brothers, as he very much loved Antigonus the eldest of them, he gave him at first a share in the government; but some small time after, upon a false accusation, put him to death. He confined the other three in prison during his life.

When Aristobulus had fully possessed himself of the authority his father had enjoyed, (*b*) he entered into a war with the Ituræans, and after having subjected the greater part of them, he obliged them to embrace Judaism, as Hyrcanus had the Idumæans some years before. He gave them the alternative, either to be circumcised and profess the Jewish religion, or to quit their country and seek a settle-

(*a*) A. M. 3898. Ant. J. C. 106. Joseph. Antiq. xi. l. 19. *de bell. Jud.* i. 3. (*b*) A. M. 3898. Ant. J. C. 106. Joseph. Antiq. xiii. 19. *Id. de bel. Jud.* i. 3.

ment elsewhere. They chose to stay, and comply with what was required of them, and were incorporated with the Jews, both as to spirituals and temporals. This practice became a fundamental maxim with the Asmoneans. It shews, that they had not a just idea of religion at that time, which does not impose itself by force, and which ought not to be received but voluntarily and by persuasion. Ituræa, inhabited by the people in question, was a part of Cœlosyria, on the north-east frontier of Israel, between the inheritance of the half tribe of Manassih on the other side of the Jordan, and the territory of Damascus.

A distemper obliged Aristobulus to return from Ituræa to Jerusalem, and to leave the command of the army to his brother Antigonus, to make an end of the war he had begun. The queen and her cabal, who envied Antigonus the king's favour, took the advantage of this illness, to alienate the king against him by false reports and vile calumnies. Antigonus soon returned to Jerusalem after the successes by which he had terminated the war. His entry was a kind of triumph. The feast of the tabernacles was then celebrating. He went directly to the temple with his guards, completely armed as he had entered the city, without giving himself time to change any part of his equipage. This was made a crime with the king; who, otherwise prejudiced against him, sent him orders to disarm himself, and come to him as soon as possible; conceiving, if he refused to obey, it was a proof of some bad design: in that case he gave orders that he should be killed. The person sent by Aristobulus was gained by the queen and her cabal, and told him the order quite differently; that the king desired to see him completely armed as he was. Antigonus went directly to wait on him; and the guards who saw him come in his arms, obeyed their orders, and killed him.

Aristobulus, having discovered all that had passed, was violently affected with it, and inconsolable for his death. Tormented with remorse of conscience for this murder, and that of his mother, he led a miserable life, and expired at last in the highest grief and despair.

SECT. II. *Reign of ALEXANDER JANNÆUS, which continued twenty seven years.*

SALOME, the wife of Aristobulus (c), immediately after his death, took the three princes out of the prison, into which they had been put by her husband. Alexander
P 3 Jannæus,

(c) A. M. 3899. Ant. J. C. 105. Joseph. Antiq. xiii. 20. Id. de bel. Jud. 1. 3.

Grypus reigned at Antioch, and Antiochus of Cyzic Damascus, made a cruel war upon each other, al they were brothers. Cleopatra and Alexander, the y of h r sons, reigned in Egypt, and Ptolemy Lathy eldest in Cyprus.

Alexander Jannæus, some time after he returned t salem, and had taken possession of the throne, ha good army on foot, which passed the Jordan, and the siege of Gadara. At the end of ten months, made himself master of that city, he took several oth strong places, situated also on the other side of the Jor not being sufficiently upon his guard in his return, beat by the enemy, and lost 10,000 men, with all th he had taken, and his own baggage. He returned t salem in the highest affliction for this loss, and th with which it was attended. He had even the mort to see, that many people, instead of lamenting his tune, took a malignant joy in it. For from the qu Hyrcanus with the Pharisees, they had always been i mics of his house, and especially of this Alexander. they had drawn almost the whole people into thei they had so strongly prejudiced and inflamed them him, that all the disorders and commotions, with w whole reign was embroiled, flowed from this source.

(f) This loss, great as it was, did not prevent hi

that battle o

ht

avenge hi

(g) As for his army, would permit, he came with a numerous army to besiege r Apollodorus, the governor of it, defended the place a whole year with a valour and reputation. (k) His own brother Lyfimachus could not his glory without envy; and that base passion induced him to assassinate the governor. That wretch afterwards conspired with some others as bad as himself, and succeeded in taking the city to Alexander. Upon his entrance, it was thought by his behaviour and the orders he gave, that he intended to use his victory with clemency and moderation. But as soon as he saw himself master of all the posts, and that there was nothing to oppose him, he gave his soldiers permission to kill, plunder and destroy; and immediately all the barbarity that could be imagined was exercised upon that unfortunate city. The pleasure of revenge cost him very dear. For the inhabitants of Gaza defended themselves like men in despair, and killed him almost as many of his people as they were themselves. But at length he satiated his brutal revenge, and reduced that ancient and famous city to an heap of ruins; after which he returned to Jerusalem. This war employed him a year.

Some time after the people affronted him in the most heinous manner (i). At the feast of the tabernacles, whilst he was in the temple, offering a solemn sacrifice, in quality of high-priest, upon the altar of burnt-offerings, they threw lemons at his head, calling him a thousand injurious names, and amongst the rest giving him that of *Slave*; a reproach which sufficiently argued, that they looked upon him as unworthy of the crown and pontificate. This was an effect of what Eleazar had presumed to advance, that the mother of Hyrcanus had been a captive. These indignities enraged Alexander to such a degree, that he attacked those insolent people in person, at the head of his guards, and killed to the number of 6000 of them. Seeing how much the Jews were disaffected in regard to him, he was afraid to trust his person any longer to them, and used foreign troops for his guard, whom he caused to come from Pisidia and Cilicia. Of these he formed a body of 6000 men, that attended him every where.

P 4

(k) When

(g) A. M. 3906. Ant. J. C. 98. (b) A. M. 3907. Ant. J. C. 97.
(i) A. M. 3909. Ant. J. C. 95. Joseph. Antiq. x.ii. 2 f.

(*k*) When Alexander saw the storm which had rose him a little appeased by the terror of the revenge taken for it, he turned his arms against the enemy. After having obtained some advantages over them, into an ambuscade, wherein he lost the greatest part of his army, and escaped himself with great difficulty. (*l*) At turn to Jerusalem, the Jews, incensed at this defeat, rose against him. They flattered themselves, that they find him so much weakened and dejected by his loss, they should find no difficulty in completing his destruction which they had so long desired. Alexander, who had neither application nor valour, and who besides had no common capacity, soon found troops to oppose him. A civil war ensued between him and his subjects, continued six years, and occasioned great misfortunes to both parties. The rebels were beaten and defeated upon several occasions.

(*m*) Alexander, having taken a city wherein the rebels had shut themselves up, carried eight hundred of them to Jerusalem, and caused them all to be crucified in order. When they were fixed to the cross, he ordered their wives and children to be brought out, and to have their heads cut before their faces. During this cruel execution he regaled his wives and concubines in a place from whence they saw all that passed; and this sight was to him the principal part of the entertainment. Horrid gratification! This civil war, during the six years that it lasted, cost the lives of more than fifty thousand men on the side of the rebels.

Alexander, after having put an end to it, upon many other foreign expeditions with very great success, on his return to Jerusalem, he abandoned himself to intemperance and excess of wine, that brought a quartan upon him, (*n*) of which he died at three years and six months, having reigned twenty-seven.

He left two sons, Hyrcanus and Aristobulus; decreed by his will, that Alexandra his wife should govern the kingdom during her life, and chuse which of her sons she thought fit to succeed her.

(*k*) A. M. 3910. Ant. J. C. 94. (*l*) A. M. 3912. Ant.
(*m*) A. M. 3918. Ant. J. C. 86. (*n*) A. M. 3925. Ant.

SECT. III.

JANNÆU

*eldest son is high-priest a**the wife of ALEXANDER
years. HYRCANUS her
time.*

ACCORDING to the advice of her husband, (a) Alexandra submitted herself and her children to the power of the Pharisees, declaring to them, that in doing so she only conformed to the last will of her husband.

By this step she gained so much upon them, that forgetting their hatred for the dead, though they carried it during his life as far as possible, they changed it on a sudden into a respect and veneration for his memory, and instead of the invectives and reproaches they had always abundantly vented against him, nothing was heard but praises and panegyrics, wherein they exalted immoderately the great actions of Alexander, by which the nation had been aggrandized, and its power, honour and credit, much augmented. By this means they brought over the people so effectually, whom till then they had always irritated against him, that they celebrated his funeral with greater pomp and magnificence, than that of any of his predecessors; and Alexandra, according to the intent of his will, was confirmed sovereign administratrix of the nation. We see from hence, that a blind and unlimited conformity to the power and will of the Pharisees, stood with them for every kind of merit, and made all failings, and even crimes, disappear as effectually as if they had never been; which is very common with those who are fond of ruling.

When that princess saw herself well established, she caused her eldest son Hyrcanus to be received as high-priest: he was then near thirty years of age. According to her promise, she gave the administration of all important affairs to the Pharisees. The first thing they did was to repeal the decree, by which John Hyrcanus, father of the two last kings, had abolished all their traditional constitutions, which were afterwards more generally received than ever. They persecuted with great cruelty, all those who had declared themselves their enemies in the preceding reigns, without the queen's being able to prevent them; because she had tied up her own hands, by putting herself into those of the Pharisees. She had seen in her husband's time what a civil war was, and the infinite misfortunes with which it is attended.

(a) A. M. 3926. Ant. J. C. 78. Joseph. Antiq. xiii. 23, 24. & de bell. Jud. 1. 4.

They had already got rid of many of their enemies, vented every day new articles of accusation to those who gave them most umbrage amongst such survived.

The friends and partisans of the late king, seeing to these persecutions, and that their destruction was assembled at last, and came in a body to wait on the with Aristobulus, her second son, at their head. They presented to her the services they had done the late king, their fidelity and attachment to him in all his wars, the difficulties with which he had been involved during his troubles. That it was very hard at present, under the present government, that every thing they had done for him should be made criminal, and to see themselves sacrificed to the placable hatred of their enemies, solely for their attachment to herself and her family. They implored her to put a stop to such sort of enquiries, or if that was not in her power, to permit them to retire out of the country, in order to seek an asylum elsewhere: at least they begged to put them into garrisoned places, where they might find some security against the violence of their enemies.

The queen was as much affected as it was possible with the condition she saw them in, and the injustice done to them. But it was out of her power to do for them what they desired; for she had given herself masters, by engaging

On the other side, the queen believed, that she ought not to give her consent, that the real and faithful friends of her family should abandon their country in such a manner; because she would then lie at the mercy of a turbulent faction without any support, and would have no resource in case of necessity. She resolved therefore upon the third point they had proposed to her, and dispersed them into the places where she had garrisons. She found two advantages in that conduct; the first was, that their enemies dared not attack them in those fortresses, where they would have their arms in their hands; and the second, that they would always be a body of reserve, upon which she could rely upon occasion in case of any rupture.

(9) Some years after, queen Alexandra fell sick of a very dangerous distemper, which brought her to the point of death. As soon as Aristobulus, her youngest son, saw that she could not recover, as he had long formed the design of seizing the crown at her death, he stole out of Jerusalem in the night, with only one domestick, and went to the places, in which, according to a plan he had given them, the friends of his father had been placed in garrison. He was received in them with open arms, and in fifteen days time twenty-two of those towns and castles declared for him, which put him in possession of almost all the forces of the state. The people, as well as the army, were entirely inclined to declare for him, weary of the cruel administration of the Pharisees, who had governed without controul under Alexandra, and were become insupportable to all the world. They came therefore in crowds from all sides to follow the standards of Aristobulus; in hopes that he would abolish the tyranny of the Pharisees, which could not be expected from Hyrcanus his brother, who had been brought up by his mother in a blind submission to that sect: besides which, he had neither the courage nor capacity necessary to so vigorous a design; for he was heavy and indolent, void of activity and application, and of a very mean genius.

When the Pharisees saw that Aristobulus's party augmented considerably, they went with Hyrcanus at their head to represent to the dying queen what had passed, and to demand her orders and assistance. She answered, that she was no longer in a condition to intermeddle in such affairs, and that she left the care of them to the Pharisees. However, she appointed Hyrcanus her heir general, and expired soon after.

As soon as she was dead, he took possession of the throne, and the Pharisees used all their endeavours to support him upon it. When Aristobulus quitted Jerusalem, they caused his wife and children, whom he had left behind him, to be shut up in the castle of * Baris, as hostages against himself. But seeing this did not stop him, they raised an army. Aristobulus did the same. A battle near Jericho decided the quarrel. Hyrcanus, abandoned by most part of his troops, who went over to his brother, was obliged to fly to Jerusalem, and to shut himself up in the castle of Baris: his partisans took refuge in the temple. Some time after they also submitted to Aristobulus, and Hyrcanus was obliged to come to an accommodation with him.

SECT. IV. *Reign of ARISTOBULUS II. which continued six years.*

IT was agreed by the accommodation (r), that Aristobulus should have the crown and high-priesthood, and that Hyrcanus should resign both to him, and content himself with a private life, under the protection of his brother, and with the enjoyment of his fortunes. It was not difficult to reconcile him to this; for he loved quiet and ease above all things, and quitted the government, after having possessed it three months. The tyranny of the Pharisees ended with his reign, after having greatly distressed the Jewish nation from the death of Alexander Jannæus.

The troubles of the state were not so soon appeased, to which the ambition of Antipas, better known under the name of Antipater, father of Herod, gave birth. He was by extraction an Idumæan, and a Jew by religion, as was all the Idumæans, from the time Hyrcanus had obliged them to embrace Judaism. As he had been brought up in the court of Alexander Jannæus, and of Alexandra his wife, who reigned after him, he had gained the ascendancy of Hyrcanus their eldest son, with the hope of raising himself by his favour, when he should succeed to the crown (s). But when he saw all his measures broke by the deposition of Hyrcanus, and the coronation of Aristobulus, from whom he had

(r) A. M. 3935. Ant. J. C. 69. Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 2—8 de bell. Jud. 1—5. (s) A. M. 3939. Ant. J. C. 65. Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 2—8. & de bell. Jud. 1—5.

* Baris was a castle situated upon an high rock without the walls of the temple, which were upon the same rock.

had nothing to expect, he employed his whole address and application to replace Hyrcanus upon the throne.

The latter, by his secret negotiations, had at first applied to Aretas, king of Arabia Petrea, for aid to reinstate himself. After various events, which I pass over to avoid prolixity, he had recourse to Pompey, who, on his return from his expedition against Mithridates, was arrived in Syria (1). He there took cognizance of the competition between Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, who repaired thither according to his orders. A great number of Jews went thither also, to demand that they should be freed from the government of both the one and the other. They represented, that they ought not to be ruled by kings: that they had long been accustomed to obey only the high-priest, who, without any other title, administered justice according to the laws and constitutions transmitted down to them from their forefathers: that the two brothers were indeed of the sacerdotal line; but that they had changed the form of the government for a new one, which would enslave them if not remedied.

Hyrcanus complained, that Aristobulus had unjustly deprived him of his birth-right, by usurping every thing, and leaving him only a small estate for his subsistence. He accused him also of practising piracy at sea, and of plundering his neighbours by land. And to confirm what he alledged against him, he produced almost a thousand Jews, the principals of the nation, whom Antipater had brought expressly, to support by their testimony what that prince had to say against his brother.

Aristobulus replied to this, That Hyrcanus had been deposed only for his incapacity; that his sloth and indolence rendered him entirely incapable of the publick affairs; that the people despised him; and that he, Aristobulus, had been obliged to take the reins of the government into his own hands, to prevent them from falling into those of strangers. In fine, that he bore no other title than his father Alexander had done before him. And in proof of what he advanced, he produced a great number of the young nobility of the country, who appeared with all possible splendor and magnificence. Their superb habits, haughty manners, and proud demeanor, did no great service to his cause.

Pompey heard enough to discern, that the conduct of Aristobulus was violent and unjust, but would not however pronounce immediately upon it, lest Aristobulus, out of resentment, should oppose his designs against Arabia, which he had much at heart; he therefore dismissed the two brothers

(1) Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 5. Id. de bell. Jud. 1—5.

thers respectfully, and told them, that at his return introducing Aretas and his Arabians, he should pass to Judæa, and that he would then regulate their affair, and the necessary dispositions in all things.

Aristobulus, who fully penetrated Pompey's sentiments, set out suddenly from Damascus, without paying him the least instance of respect, returned into Judæa, arm his subjects, and prepared for a good defence. By this conduct he made Pompey his mortal enemy.

Pompey applied himself also in making preparations for the Arabian war. Aretas, till then, had despised the arms of man; but when he saw them at his door, and his victorious army ready to enter his dominions, he sent an embassy to make his submissions. Pompey, however, advanced as far as Petra his capital, which he took. He was taken in it. Pompey at first kept him under a guard, but at length he was released upon accepting the conditions imposed on him by the victor, who soon after returned to Damascus.

He was not apprized till then of Aristobulus's proceedings in Judæa. He marched thither with his army, and Aristobulus posted in the castle of Alexandrion, which was upon a high mountain at the entrance of the country. This place was extremely strong, built by his father Alexander, who had given his name to it. Pompey sent to bid him come down to him. Aristobulus was not much inclined to comply, but he at last gave into the opinion of those about him, who apprehending a war with the Romans, advised him to do so. He did so, and after a conversation which turned up and down, he returned into his castle. He repeated the same two or three times, in hopes by that duplicity to gain upon Pompey, and induce him to be in his favour. But for fear of accident, he did not omit to put good garrisons into his strong places, and to make other preparations for a vigorous defence, in case Pompey should decree against him. Pompey, who had advice of his proceedings, the last time he came to him, obliged him to put them all into his hands, by way of sequel; and made him sign orders for that purpose to all the commanders of those places.

Aristobulus incensed at the violence which had been used to him, as soon as he was released, made all haste to Jerusalem, and prepared every thing for the war. His resolution to keep the crown made him the sport of the different passions, hope and fear. When he saw the least appearance

Pompey would decide in his favour, he made use of all the arts of complacency to incline him to it. When, on the contrary, he had the least reason to suspect, that he would declare against him, he observed a directly opposite conduct. Such was the contrariety visible in the different steps he took throughout this affair.

Pompey followed him close. The first place where he encamped in his way to Jerusalem, was Jericho; there he received the news of Mithridates's death, as we shall see in the following book.

He continued his march towards Jerusalem. When he approached, Aristobulus, who began to repent of what he had done, came out to meet him, and endeavoured to bring him to an accommodation, by promising an entire submission, and a great sum of money to prevent the war. Pompey accepted his offers, and sent Gabinius, at the head of a detachment, to receive the money; but when that lieutenant-general arrived at Jerusalem, he found the gates shut against him, and, instead of receiving the money, he was told from the top of the walls, that the city would not stand to the agreement. Pompey thereupon, not being willing that they should deceive him with impunity, ordered Aristobulus, whom he had kept with him, to be put in irons, and advanced with his whole army against Jerusalem. The city was extremely strong by its situation, and the works which had been made; and had it not been divided within doors against itself, was capable of making a long defence.

Aristobulus's party was for defending the place; especially when they saw that Pompey kept their king prisoner. But the adherents of Hyrcanus were determined to open the gates to that general. And as the latter were much the greater number, the other party retired to the mountain where the temple stood, to defend it, and caused the bridges of the ditch and valley, which surrounded it, to be broke down. Pompey, to whom the city immediately opened its gates, resolved to besiege the temple. The place held out three months entire, and would have done so three more, and perhaps obliged the Romans to abandon their enterprize, but for the superstitious rigour with which the besieged observed the sabbath. They believed, indeed, that they might defend themselves when attacked, but not that they might prevent the works of the enemy, or make any for themselves. The Romans knew how to take the advantage of this inaction upon the sabbath-days. They did not attack the Jews upon them, but filled up the fosses, made their approaches,

proaches, and fixed their engines without opposition. They threw down at length a great tower, with which so great a part of the wall fell, that the breach was large enough for an assault. The place was carried sword in hand, and a terrible slaughter ensued, in which more than 12,000 persons were killed.

During the whole tumult, cries, and disorder of this slaughter, history observes that the priests, who were at that time employed in divine service, continued it with a surprising unconcern, notwithstanding the rage of their enemies, and their grief to see their friends and relations massacred before their eyes. Many of them saw their own blood mingle with that of the sacrifices they offered, and the sword of the enemy make themselves the victims of their duty: happy, and worthy of being envied, if they were as faithful to the spirit, as the letter of it!

Pompey, with many of his superior officers, entered the temple, and not only into the sanctuary, but into the Sanctum Sanctorum, into which, by the law, only the high-priest was permitted to enter once a year, upon the solemn day of expiation. This was what afflicted and enraged the Jews most against the Romans.

Pompey did not touch the treasures of the temple, that consisted principally in sums which had been deposited there by private families for their better security. Those sums amounted to two thousand * talents in specie, without reckoning the gold and silver vessels, which were innumerable and of infinite value. † It was not, says Cicero, out of respect for the majesty of the God adored in that temple, that Pompey behaved in this manner; for, according to him, nothing was more contemptible than the Jewish religion, more unworthy the wisdom and grandeur of the Romans, nor more opposite to the institutions of their ancestors. Pompey in this noble disinterestedness had no other motive, than to deprive malice and calumny of all means of attacking his reputation. Such were the thoughts of the most learned of the Pagans upon the only religion of the true God. They blasphemed what they knew nothing of.

* Three hundred thousand pounds sterling.

† Cn. Pompeius, capta Hierosolymis, victor ex illo loco nihil attulit. In primis hoc, ut multa alia, sapienter, quod in tam suspiciosa ac maledica civitate locum sermoni obsecutorum non reli-

quit. Non enim credo religionem & Judæorum & hostium impedimento præstantissimo imperatori, sed pudorem fuisse - idcirco religio sacerdotum a splendore hujus imperii, gravitate nominis, vestri, morum institutis abhorrebat. *de pro Flac.* c. 67-69.

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SECT. V. *Reign of HYRCANUS II. which continued twenty four years.*

(u) **POMPEY**, having put an end to the war, caused the walls of Jerusalem to be demolished, re-established Hyrcanus, and sent Aristobulus, with his two sons, Alexander and Antigonus, prisoners to Rome. He dismembered several cities from the kingdom of Judæa, which he united with the government of Syria, imposed a tribute upon Hyrcanus, and left the administration of affairs to Antipater, who was at the court of Hyrcanus, and one of his principal ministers. Alexander made his escape upon the way to Rome, and returned into Judæa, where he afterwards excited new troubles.

1. (x) Hyrcanus finding himself too weak to take the field against him, had recourse to the arms of the Romans. Gabinius, governor of Syria, after having overthrown Alexander in a battle, went to Jerusalem, and reinstated Hyrcanus in the high-priesthood (y). He made great alterations in the civil government, for from monarchical, as it had been, he changed it into aristocratical; but those innovations were but of short duration.

(2) Crassus, upon his march against the Parthians, always intent upon gratifying his insatiable avarice, stopt at Jerusalem, where he had been told great treasures were laid up. He plundered the temple of all the riches in it, which amounted to the sum of 10,000 talents, that is to say, about 1,500,000 l. sterling.

Cæsar (*a*), after his expedition into Egypt, being arrived in Syria, Antigonus, who had made his escape from Rome with his father Aristobulus, came to throw himself at his feet, begged him to re-establish him upon the throne of his father, who was lately dead, and made great complaints against Antipater and Hyrcanus. Cæsar had too great obligations to both, to do any thing contrary to their interests; for, as we shall see in the sequel, without the aid he had received

(u) A. M. 3947. Ant. J. C. 63. (x) A. M. 3947. Ant. J. C. 57:
(y) Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 10. Id. de bell. Jud. 1. 6. (z) A. M. 3950.
Ant. J. C. 54. (a) A. M. 3957. Ant. J. C. 47. Joseph. Antiq.
xiv. 15. de bell. Jud. 1. 8.

ceived from them, his expedition into Egypt would miscarried. He decreed that Hyrcanus should retain dignity of high-priest of Jerusalem, and the sovereign Judæa, to himself and his posterity after him for ever gave Antipater the office of procurator of Judæa under canus. By this decree, the aristocracy of Gabinus was lished, and the government of Judæa re-established upon ancient foot.

Antipater caused the *(b)* government of Jerusalem given to Phasaël his eldest son, and that of Galilee to his second son.

Cæsar *(c)*, at Hyrcanus's request, and in consideration of the services he had rendered him in Egypt and Syria, permitted him to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem, which they had caused to be demolished. Antipater, losing time, began the work, and the city was fortified as it had been before the demolition. Cæsar killed this year.

During the civil wars, Judæa, as well as all the provinces of the Roman empire, was agitated by troubles.

Pacorus, *(d)* son of Orodes king of Parthia, had Syria with a powerful army. From thence he sent a command to Judæa, with orders to place Antigonus, the Aristobulus, upon the throne, who on his side had assembled troops. Hyrcanus, and Phasaël, Herod's brother, upon proposal of an accommodation, had the imprudence to the enemy, who seized them, and put them in irons. They escaped from Jerusalem the moment before the Parthians entered it to seize him also.

Having missed Herod, they plundered the city and try, placed Antigonus upon the throne, and delivered Hyrcanus and Phasaël in chains into his hands. Phasaël, who knew that his death was resolved, dashed out his brains against the wall, to avoid the hands of the executioner. As for canus, his life was granted him; but to render him incapable of the priesthood, Antigonus caused his ears to be cut off according to the Levitical law *(e)*, it was requisite that a high-priest should be perfect in all his members. After thus mutilated him, he gave him back to the Parthians, that they might carry him into the east, from whence it was not be possible for him to embroil affairs in Judæa.

(b) Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 17. de bell. Jud. 1. 8. *(c)* A. M. 396
Ant. J. C. 44. Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 17. *(d)* A. M. 396
J. C. 43. Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 23, 26. Id. de bell. Jud.
(e) Levit. xxi. 16 - 24. *(f)* Joseph. Antiq. xv. 2.

continued a at Seleucia in Babylonia, till the coming of Phraates to the crown, who caused his chains to be taken off, and gave him entire liberty to see and converse with the Jews of that country, who were very numerous. They looked upon him as their king and high-priest, and raised him a revenue sufficient to support his rank with splendor. The love of his native country made him forget all those advantages. He returned the year following to Jerusalem, whither Herod had invited him to come, but put him to death some years afterwards.

Herod at first took refuge in Egypt, from whence he went to Rome. Antony was then in the high degree of power, which the triumvirate had given him. He took Herod under his protection, and even did more in his favour than he expected. For instead of what he proposed, which was at most to obtain the crown for * Aristobulus, whose sister Mariamne he had lately married, with the view of only governing under him, as Antipater had done under Hyrcanus; Antony caused the crown to be conferred upon himself, contrary to the usual maxim of the Romans in like cases. For it was not their custom to violate the rights of the royal houses, which acknowledged them for protectors, and to give crowns to strangers. Herod was declared king of Judæa by the senate, and conducted by the consuls to the Capitol, where he received the investiture of the crown, with the ceremonies usual upon such occasions.

Herod passed only seven days at Rome in negotiating this great affair, and returned speedily into Judæa. He employed no more time than three months in his journeys by sea and land.

SECT. VI. *Reign of ANTIGONUS, of only two years duration.*

(g) IT was not so easy for Herod to establish himself in the possession of the kingdom of Judæa, as it had been to obtain his title from the Romans. Antigonus was not at all inclined to resign a throne, which had cost him so much pains and money to acquire. He disputed it with him very vigorously for almost two years.

Herod,

(g) A. M. 3965. Ant. J. C. 39.

* Aristobulus was the son of Alexander, Hyrcanus's daughter; and that the right of both brothers to the crown was united in his person.

Herod, (*b*) who during the winter had made great preparations for the following campaign, opened it at length with the siege of Jerusalem, which he invested at the head of a fine and numerous army. Antony had given order to Sosius, governor of Syria, to use his utmost endeavours to reduce Antigonus, and to put Herod into full possession of the kingdom of Judæa.

Whilst the works necessary to the siege were carrying on, Herod made a tour to Samaria, and at length consummated his marriage with Mariamne. They had been contracted many years to each other: but the unforeseen troubles, into which he fell, had prevented their consummating the marriage then. She was the daughter of Alexander, the son of Hircanus, and Alexandra, the daughter of Hyrcanus the second, and thereby grand-daughter to those two others. She was a princess of extraordinary beauty and virtue, and possessed in an eminent degree all the other qualities that adorn the sex. The attachment of the Jews to the Asmonæan family, made Herod imagine, that by espousing her, he should find no difficulty in gaining their affection, which was one of his reasons for consummating his marriage at that time.

On his return to Jerusalem, Sosius and he, having joined their forces, pressed the siege in concert with the utmost vigour, and with a very numerous army, which amounted to at least 60,000 men. The place however held out against them many months with exceeding resolution, and if the besiegers had been as expert in the art of war and the defence of places as they were brave and resolute, it would not perhaps have been taken. But the Romans, who were much better skilful in those things than them, carried the place at length after a siege of something more than six months.

(*i*) The Jews being driven from their posts, the enemy entered on all sides, and made themselves masters of the city. And to revenge the obstinate resistance they had met with, and the pains they had suffered during so long and difficult a siege, they filled all quarters of Jerusalem with blood and slaughter, plundered and destroyed all before them, though Herod did his utmost to prevent both the one and the other.

Antigonus seeing all lost, came and threw himself at the feet of Sosius in the most submissive and most abject manner. He was put in chains, and sent to Antony, as soon as he

(*b*) A. M. 3966. Ant. J. C. 38. Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 27. Id. de Jud. i. 13.

(*i*) A. M. 3967. Ant. J. C. 37.

lived at Antioch. He designed at first to have reserved him for triumph; but Herod, who did not think himself safe as long as that branch of the royal family survived, would not let him rest till he had obtained the death of that unfortunate prince, for which he even gave a large sum of money (*k*). He was proceeded against in form, condemned to die, and had the sentence executed upon him in the same manner as common criminals, with the rods and axes of the lictor, and was fastened to a stake; a treatment with which the Romans had never used any crowned head before.

Thus ended the reign of the Asmonæans, after a duration of an hundred and twenty-nine years, from the beginning of the government of Judas Maccabæus. Herod entered by this means upon the peaceable possession of the kingdom of Judæa.

This singular, extraordinary, and, till then, unexampled event, by which the sovereign authority over the Jews was given to a stranger, an Idumæan, ought to have opened their eyes, and rendered them attentive to a celebrated prophecy, which had foretold it in clear terms; had given it as the certain mark of another event, in which the whole nation was interested, which was the perpetual object of their vows and hopes, and distinguished them by a peculiar characteristic from all the other nations of the world, that had an equal interest in it, but without knowing or being apprized of it. This was the prophecy of Jacob, who at his death foretold to his twelve sons, assembled round his bed, what would happen in the series of time to the twelve tribes, of which they were the chiefs, after whom they were called. Amongst the other predictions of that patriarch, concerning the tribe of Judah, there is this of which we now speak: *The (l) sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a law-giver from between his feet, until Shiloh come, and unto him shall the gathering of the people be. The sceptre or rod* (for the Hebrew signifies both) implies here the authority and superiority over the other tribes.

All the ancient Jews have explained this prediction to denote the Messiah; the fact is therefore incontestable, and is reduced to two essential points. The first is, that as long as the tribe of Judah shall subsist, it shall have pre-eminence and authority over the other tribes: the second, that it shall subsist, and form a body of a republick, governed by its laws and magistrates, till the Messiah comes.

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(*k*) Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 27. Plut. in Anton. p. 932. Dion. Cass. l. xlix. p. 405.

(*l*) Gen. xlix. 10.

The first point is verified in the series of the history of the Israelites, wherein that pre-eminence of the tribe of Judah appears evidently. This is not the proper place for proof of this kind; those who would be more fully informed may consult the explanation of Genesis lately published *.

For the second point, we have only to consider it with the least attention. When Herod the Idumæan, and in consequence stranger, was placed upon the throne, the authority and superiority, which the tribe of Judah had over the other tribes, were first taken from it. The tribe of Judah had no longer the supremacy, it was no longer a body subsisting, from which the magistrates were taken. It was manifest, therefore, that the Messiah was come. But at what time did that tribe become like the rest, and was confounded with them? In the time of Titus Vespasian, and Adrian, who finally exterminated the remains of Judah. It was therefore before those times the Messiah came.

How wonderful does God appear in the accomplishment of his prophecies! Would it be making a right use of history, not to dwell a few moments upon facts like this, when we meet them in the course of our matter? Herod, reduced to quit Jerusalem, takes refuge at Rome. He has no thought of demanding the sovereignty for himself, but for another. It was the grossest injustice to give it to a stranger, while there were princes of the royal family in being. But it had been decreed from all eternity, that Herod should be king of the Jews. Heaven and earth should sooner pass away, than that decree of God not be fulfilled. Antony was at Rome, and in possession of sovereign power, when Herod arrives there. How many events were necessary to the conducting of things to this point! But is there any thing difficult to the Almighty?

ARTICLE II.

Abridgment of the history of the Parthians, from the establishment of that empire to the defeat of CRASSUS, which is related at large.

THE Parthian empire was one of the most powerful and most considerable that ever was in the east. Very weak in its beginnings, as is common, it extended itself by little and little over all Asia Major, and made even the Romans tremble. Its duration is generally allowed to be

4 years; of which 254 years were before Jesus Christ, and 220 after him. Arfaces was the founder of that empire, in whom all his successors were called Arfacides. Artaxerxes, by birth a Persian, having overcome and slain Artabanus, the last of those kings, transferred the empire of the Parthians to the Persians, in the fifth year of the emperor Alexander, the son of Mammæus. I shall only speak here of the affairs of the Parthians before Jesus Christ, and shall treat them very briefly, except the defeat of Crassus, which I shall relate in all its extent.

I have observed elsewhere what gave (*m*) Arfaces I. occasion to make Parthia revolt, and to expel the Macedonians, who had been in possession of it from the death of Alexander the Great, and in what manner he had caused himself to be elected king of the Parthians. Theodotus at the same time made Bactria revolt, and took that province from Antiochus, surnamed *Theos*.

Some time after Seleucus Callinicus (*n*), who succeeded Antiochus, endeavoured in vain to subdue the Parthians. He fell into their hands himself, and was made prisoner: this happened in the reign of Tiridates, called otherwise Arfaces II. brother of the first.

Antiochus, surnamed the Great (*o*), was more successful than his predecessor. He marched into the east, and repossessed himself of Media, which the Parthians had taken from him. He also entered Parthia, and obliged the king to retire into Hyrcania, from whence he returned soon after with an army of 100,000 foot, and 20,000 horse. As the war was of a tedious duration, Antiochus made a treaty with Arfaces, by which he left him Parthia and Hyrcania, on condition that he should assist him in re-conquering the revolted provinces. Antiochus marched afterwards against Euthydemus king of Bactria, with whom he was so obliged to come to an accommodation.

PRIAPATIUS, the son of Arfaces II. succeeded his father, and after having reigned fifteen years, left the crown at his death to PHRAATES I. his eldest son.

(*q*) Phraates left it to MITHRIDATES, whom he preferred before his own issue, upon account of his extraordinary

(*m*) A. M. 3754. Ant. J. C. 250. Vol. VI. (*n*) A. M. 3768. Ant. J. C. 236. Vol. VI. (*o*) A. M. 3792. Ant. J. C. 212. Vol. VI. (*p*) A. M. 3798. Ant. J. C. 206. (*q*) A. M. 3840. Ant. J. C. 164.

* The Abbe Isguezue, in his *Lectures upon the Arfacides*, writes what is here said to Artabanus, whom he places between Arfaces II. and Priapatus. Justin says nothing of them.

ordinary merit, and who was in effect one of the greatest kings the Parthians ever had. He carried his arms farther than Alexander the Great. It was he who made Demetrius Nicator prisoner.

(r) PHRAATES II. succeeded Mithridates his father. Antiochus Sidetes, king of Syria, marched against him at the head of a powerful army, under pretext of delivering his brother Demetrius, who had been long kept in captivity. After having defeated Phraates in three battles, he was himself overthrown, and killed in the last, and his army entirely cut to pieces. Phraates, in his turn, at the time he had formed the design of invading Syria, was attacked by the Scythians, and lost his life in a battle.

(s) ARTABANUS his uncle reigned in his stead, and died soon after.

His successor was MITHRIDATES II. of whom Justin says (t), that his great actions acquired him the surname of *Great*.

He declared war against the Armenians, and by a treaty of peace, which he made with them, he obliged their king to send him his son Tigranes as an an hostage. (u) The latter was afterwards set upon the throne of Armenia by the Parthians themselves, and joined with Mithridates, king of Pontus, in the war against the Romans.

(x) Antiochus Eusebes took refuge with Mithridates, who re-established him in the possession of part of the kingdom of Syria two years after.

(y) It was the same Mithridates, as we shall see hereafter, who sent Orobazus to Sylla, to demand the amity and alliance of the Romans, and who caused him to be put to death on his return, for having given place to Sylla.

Demetrius Eucerus (z), who reigned at Damascus, besieging Philip his brother in the city of Bæra, was defeated and taken by the Parthian troops sent to the aid of Philip, and carried prisoner to Mithridates, who treated him with all the honours possible. He died there of disease.

Mithridates II died (a), after having reigned forty years, generally regretted by his subjects. The domestick troubles, with which his death was followed, considerably weakened the

(r) A. M. 3873. Ant. J. C. 131. Justin. l. xviii. c. 3. (s) A. M. 3875. Ant. J. C. 139. (t) Justin. p. 115. (u) A. M. 3999. (x) A. M. 3912. (y) A. M. 3914. Ant. J. C. 90. (z) A. M. 3915. Ant. J. C. 89. Joseph. Antiq. xiii. 22. (a) A. M. 3915. Ant. J. C. 89. Strab. l. xi. p. 532. Plot. in hand. p. 500, &c.

the Parthian emperor, and his provinces re-
Tigranes re-ent upon all provinces ne d,
to the Parthians, and to l otl s f
passed the Euphrates, and made n
Phoenicia.

During these troubles, the Parthians elected MNASKIRES,
and after him SINATROCCES, kings, of whom almost no-
thing more is known than their names.

(b) PHRAATES, the son of the latter, was he, who cau-
sed himself to be surnamed THE GOD.

He sent ambassadors to Lucullus, after the great victory
the Romans had obtained over Tigranes. He held at the
same time secret intelligence with the latter. It was at
that time Mithridates wrote him the letter, which Sallust
has preserved.

(c) Pompey having been appointed, in the place of Lu-
cullus, to terminate the war against Mithridates, engaged
Phraates in the party of the Romans.

The latter joins Tigranes the younger against his father,
and breaks with Pompey.

(d) After Pompey's return to Rome, Phraates is killed
by his own children. MITHRIDATES his eldest son takes his
place.

Tigranes, king of Armenia, dies almost at the same time.
Artavasdes his son succeeds him.

Mithridates (e), expelled his kingdom either by his own
subjects, to whom he had rendered himself odious; or by the
ambition of his brother Orodes, applies to Gabinius; who
commanded in Syria, to re-establish him upon the throne;
but without effect. (f) He takes up arms in his own de-
fence. Besieged in Babylon, and warmly pressed, he sur-
renders to Orodes, who considering him only as an ene-
my, and not a brother, causes him to be put to death;
by which means ORODES becomes peaceable possessor of the
throne.

But he found enough to employ him abroad (g), that he
had no reason to expect. Crassus had lately been created
consul at Rome, with Pompey for the second time. On the
partition of the provinces, Syria fell to Crassus, who was
exceedingly rejoiced upon that account; because it favoured
the design he had formed of carrying the war into Parthia.

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When

(b) A. M. 3935. Ant. J. C. 69. (c) A. M. 3938. Ant.
J. C. 66. (d) A. M. 3948. Ant. J. C. 56. (e) Justin. l. xlii c. 4.
(f) A. M. 3949. Ant. J. C. 55. (g) A. M. 3950. Ant. J. C. 54.
Plut. in Crass. p. 552, 554.

When he was in company, even with people he scarce knew, he could not moderate his transports. Amongst his friends, with whom he was under less restraint, he ran even into rhodomontades unworthy of his age and character, and seemed to forget himself in a strange manner. He did not confine his views to the government of Syria, nor to the conquest of some neighbouring provinces, nor even to that of Parthia: he flattered himself with doing such things, as should make the great exploits of Lucullus against Tigranes, and those of Pompey against Mithridates, appear like the feats of infants in comparison with his. He had already overran in thought Bactria and the Indias, and penetrated as far as the remotest seas, and the extremities of the east. However, in the instructions and powers which were given him, Parthia was in no manner included: but all the world knew his design against it was his darling passion. Such a beginning forebodes no success.

His departure had besides something more inauspicious in it. One of the tribunes, named Ateius, threatened to oppose his going; and was joined by many people, who could not suffer him to set out with gaiety of heart, to carry a war against a people who had done the Romans no injury, and were their friends and allies. That tribune, in consequence, having in vain opposed the departure of Crassus, made haste to the gate of the city through which he was to pass, and set a cauldron full of fire before him. When Crassus came to the place, he threw perfumes, and poured libations into the pan, uttering over them the most terrible imprecations, which could not be heard without making all present tremble with horror, and of which the misfortunes of Crassus have been regarded by many writers as the accomplishment.

Nothing could stop him. Superior to all opposition, he continued his march, arrived at Brundisium, and though the sea was very tempestuous, embarked, and lost abundance of ships in his passage. When he arrived at Galatia, he had an interview with king Dejotarus, who, though of a very advanced age, was at that time employed in building a new city. Upon which Crassus rallied him to this effect, *King of the Galatians, you begin full late to build a city at the twelfth hour of the day. And you, Lord Crassus, replied Dejotarus, are not too early in setting out to make war against the Parthians.* For Crassus was at that time upwards of sixty years

* The twelfth hour was the end of the day.

years old, and his countenance made him still look older than he was.

He had been informed, (*b*) that there were considerable treasures in the temple of Jerusalem, which Pompey had not ventured to touch. He believed it worth his trouble to go a little out of his way to make himself master of them. He therefore marched thither with his army. Besides the other riches, which amounted to very considerable sums, in it there was a beam of gold, inclosed and concealed in another of wood made hollow for that use: this was known only by Eleazar the priest, who kept the treasures of the sanctuary. This beam of gold weighed three hundred minæ, each of which weighed two pounds and a half. Eleazar, who was apprized of the motive of Crassus's march to Jerusalem, to save the other riches, which were almost all of them deposited in the temple by private persons, discovered the golden beam to Crassus, and suffered him to take it away, after having made him take an oath not to meddle with the rest. Was he so ignorant to imagine any thing sacred with avarice? Crassus took the beam of gold, and notwithstanding made the rest of the treasures his plunder, which amounted to about fifteen hundred thousand pounds sterling. He then continued his rout.

Every thing succeeded at first as happily as he could have expected. He built a bridge over the Euphrates without any opposition, passed it with his army, and entered the Parthian territories. He invaded them without any other real motive for the war, than the insatiable desire of enriching himself by the plunder of a country which was supposed to be extremely opulent. The Romans under Sylla, and afterwards under Pompey, had made peace and several treaties with them. There had been no complaint of any infractions or enterprize to give a just pretext for a war. So that the Parthians expected nothing less than such an invasion, and, not being upon their guard, had made no preparations for their defence. Crassus in consequence was master of the field, and over-ran without opposition the greatest part of Mesopotamia. He took also several cities with no resistance, and had he known how to take advantage of the occasion, it had been easy for him to have penetrated as far as Seleucia and Ctesiphon, to have seized them, and made himself master of all Babylonia, as he had done of Mesopotamia. But instead of pursuing his point, in the beginning of autumn, after having left 7000 foot and 1000 horse to

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secure the cities which had surrendered to him, he repassed the Euphrates, and puts his troops into winter-quarters in the cities of Syria, where his sole employment was to amass money, and to plunder temples.

He was joined there by his son, whom Cæsar sent to him out of Gaul, a young man who had already been honoured with several of the military crowns, given by the general to such as distinguished themselves by their valour. He brought with him 1000 chosen horse.

Of all the faults committed by Crassus in this expedition, which were very considerable, the greatest undoubtedly, after that of having undertaken this war, was his hasty return into Syria. For he ought to have gone on without staying, and to have seized Babylon and Seleucia, cities always at enmity with the Parthians, instead of giving his enemies time to make preparations by his retreat, which was the cause of his ruin.

Whilst he was re-assembling all his troops from their winter-quarters, ambassadors from the king of Parthia arrived, who opened their commissions in few words. They told him, that if that army was sent by the Romans against the Parthians, the war could not be terminated by any treaty of peace, and could only be brought to a conclusion by the final ruin of the one or the other empire. That if, as they had been informed, it was only Crassus, who, against the opinion of his country, and to satiate his private avarice, had taken arms against them, and entered one of their provinces, the king their matter was well disposed to act with moderation in the affair, to take pity of the age of Crassus, and to suffer the Romans in his dominions, rather shut up than keeping possession of cities, to depart with their lives and rings safe. They spoke no doubt of the garrisons left by Crassus in the conquered places. Crassus answered this discourse only with a rhodomontade. He told them, *They should have his answer in the city of Seleucia.* Upon which the most ancient of the ambassadors, named Vahises, made an answer, laughing, and shewing him the palm of his hand; *Crassus, you will sooner see hair grow in the palm of my hand, than Seleucia.* The ambassadors retired, and went to give their king notice, that he must prepare for war.

As soon as the season would permit (i), Crassus took the field. The Parthians had time, during the winter, to assemble a very great army, to make head against him. Orodes thinking divided his troops, and marched in person with

(i) A. M. 3951. Ant. J. C. 53. Plut. in Crass. p. 354.

one part of them to the frontiers of Armenia: he sent the other into Mesopotamia, under the command of Surena. That general, upon his arrival there, retook several of the places Crassus had made himself master of the year before.

About the same time some Roman soldiers, who with exceeding difficulty had escaped out of the cities of Mesopotamia, where they had been in garrison, of which the Parthians had already retaken some, and were besieging the rest, came to Crassus, and related things to him highly capable of disquieting and alarming him. They told him, that they had seen with their own eyes the incredible numbers of the enemy, and that they had also been witnesses of their terrible valour in the bloody attacks of the cities they besieged. They added, that they were troops not to be escaped when they pursued, nor overtaken when they fled; that their arrows, of a weight, and at the same time of an astonishing rapidity, were always attended with mortal wounds, against which it was impossible to defend.

This discourse infinitely abated the courage and boldness of the Roman soldiers; who imagined, that the Parthians differed in nothing from the Armenians and Cappadocians, that Lucullus had so easily overthrown; and flattered themselves that the whole difficulty of the war would consist in the length of the way, and the pursuit of the enemy, who would never dare to come to blows with them. They now saw, contrary to their expectation, that they were to experience great battles and great dangers. This discouragement rose so high, that many of the principal officers were of opinion, that it was necessary for Crassus, before he advanced farther, to assemble a council, in order to deliberate again upon the whole enterprize. But Crassus listened to no other advice, but of those who pressed him to begin his march, and to make all possible expedition.

What encouraged him the most, and confirmed him in that resolution, was the arrival of Artabafus, king of Armenia. He brought with him a body of 6000 horse, which were part of his guards; adding, that besides these, he had 10,000 cuirassiers, and 30,000 foot at his service. But he advised him to take great care not to march his army into the plains of Mesopotamia, and told him, that he must enter the enemy's country by the way of Armenia; the reasons with which he supported this advice were, that Armenia, being a mountainous country, the Parthian horse, in which the greatest strength of their army consisted, would be

rendered entirely useless to them: that if they took this rout, he should be in a condition to supply the army with all necessaries; instead of which, if he marched by the way of Mesopotamia, convoys would be deficient, and he would have a powerful army in his front, on all the marches it would be necessary for him to take; before he could penetrate to the center of the enemy's dominions; that in those plains, the horse would have all possible advantages against him; and, lastly, that he must cross several sandy deserts, where the troops might be in great distress for want of water and provisions. The counsel was excellent, and the reasons unanswerable: but Crassus, blinded by Providence, which intended to punish the sacrilege he had committed in plundering the temple of Jerusalem, despised all that was said to him. He only desired Artabafus, who returned into his dominions, to bring him his troops as soon as possible.

I have said, that Providence blinded Crassus, which is self-evident in a great measure. But a Pagan writer makes the same remark upon it; this is Dion Cassius, a very judicious historian, and at the same time a warrior. He says, that the Romans under Crassus "had no salutary view, " and were either ignorant upon all occasions of what was " necessary to be done, or in no condition to execute it; so " that one would have thought, that, condemned and persecuted by some divinity, they could neither make use of " their bodies nor minds." That Divinity was unknown to Dion. It was He whom the Jewish nation adored, and who avenged the injury done to his temple.

Crassus made haste therefore to set forward. He had seven legions of foot, near 4000 horse, and as many light-armed soldiers and archers, which amounted in all to more than 40,000 men, that is to say, one of the finest armies the Romans ever set on foot. When his troops passed the bridge he had laid over the river Euphrates, near the city of Zeugma, a dreadful storm of thunder and lightning drove in the faces of the soldiers, as if to prevent them from going on. At the same time a black cloud, out of which burst an impetuous whirlwind, attended with thunder-claps and lightning, fell upon the bridge, and broke down a part of it. The troops were seized with fear and sadness. He endeavoured to re-animate them in the best manner he was able, promising them with an oath, that they should march back by the way of Armenia; and concluding his discourse with assuring them, that not one of them should return that way. Those

last

words, which were ambiguous, and he supposed him imprudent. There is what was said in private by him and others. Crassus was not so much taken in by the flattery of his officers as he was by the flattery of his soldiers. He neglected to observe the expressions of the words, to consider the situation.

He made his troops advance along the Euphrates. His soldiers, when he had seen the Parthians, returned, and told him that there was not a single man to be seen in the city, but that they had found the marks of abundance of soldiers, which seemed to have been suddenly and in great numbers.

Upon this advice, Crassus continued himself in his hope. His soldiers began to divide the Parthians, saying that they would have courage to make a charge, and come off with them. Crassus having him in mind to approach town, where they had a garrison, in order to rest the soldiers, and have time to count the true number of the men, their force, and what weapons they had in view; he, Crassus, did not approve that counsel, to march along the banks towards Seleucia, because, by always keeping to the coast of that river, he would put it out of the power of the Parthians to surround him; and that, with the fleet which might follow him, provided he might be always brought to Syria, and all other things of which the army might be in need. This counsel was Crassus's question, and the answer who afterwards killed Crassus.

Crassus, after having considered the advice, was upon the point of coming on, at which a chief of the Arabians, called Ariamnes, came in unexpectedly, and had the address to make him approve a quite different plan. That man had formerly served under Pompey, and was known to many of the Roman soldiers, who looked upon him as a friend. Several found him exactly qualified to play the part he gave him. Accordingly, when he was conducted to Crassus, he informed him, that the Parthians would not look the Roman army in the face, that in his nation had already had an universal terror among their troops, and that he wanted no more for the obtaining a complete victory, to march directly up to them, and give them battle. He offered to be their guide himself, and to carry them the best way. Crassus, blinded by this flattery, and deceived by a man who knew how to give a specious turn to what he proposed, gave entirely into the snare, notwithstanding

pressing instances of Cassius, and some others, who suspected that impossibility's design.

Cassius would hearken to nobody. The traitor Ariamnes, after having persuaded him to draw off from the banks of the Euphrates, conducted him across the plain by a way at first level and easy, but which at length became difficult from the deep sands, on which the army found itself engaged in the midst of a vast country all bare, and of a frightful dreariness, where the eye could discover neither end or boundary. nor the troops hope to find rest and refreshment. If thirst and the fatigue of the way, discouraged the Romans, the prospect of the country alone threw them into a despair still more terrible: for they could perceive neither near them, nor at a distance, the least tree, plant or brook; not so much as an hill, nor a single blade of grass; nothing was to be seen all round but heaps of burning sand.

This gave just reason to suspect some treachery, of which the arrival of couriers from Artabasus ought to have fully convinced them. That prince informed Crassus, that king Orodes had invaded his dominions with a great army; that the war he had to support, prevented him from sending the aid he had promised; but that he advised him to approach Armenia, in order to their uniting their forces against the common enemy: that, if he would not follow that advice, he cautioned him at least to avoid, in his marches and encampments, the open plains, and such places as were commodious for the horse, and to keep always close to the mountains. Crassus, instead of giving ear to these wise counsels, flew out against them that gave them; and without vouchsafing to write an answer to Artabasus, he only told his couriers, "I have not time at present to consider the affairs of Armenia: I shall go thither soon, and shall then punish Artabasus for his treachery."

Crassus was so full of his Arab, and so blinded by his artful suggestions, that he had continued to follow him without the least distrust, notwithstanding all the advice that was given him, till he had brought him a great way into the sandy desert we have mentioned. The traitor then made his escape, and gave Surena an account of what he had done.

After a march of some days in a desert of the enemy's country, where it was difficult to have any intelligence, the scouts came in full speed to inform Crassus, that a very numerous army of the Parthians advanced with great order and boldness to attack him immediately. That he threw the whole camp into great trouble and consternation. Crassus

was more a it than the rest. He made all possible haste to draw up his army in battle. At first, following the advice of Crassus, he extended his infantry as far as he could, that it might take up the more ground, and make it difficult for the enemy to surround him; he posted all his cavalry upon the wings. But afterwards he changed his opinion, and drawing up his foot in close order, he made them form a large hollow square, facing on all sides, of which each flank had twelve cohorts in front. Every cohort had a company of horse near it, in order that each part, being equally sustained by the cavalry, the whole body might charge with greater security and boldness. He gave one of the wings to Cassius, the other to his young son Crassus, and posted himself in the center.

They advanced in this order to the banks of a brook which had not much water, but was however exceedingly grateful to the soldiers, from the exceeding drought and excessive heat.

Most of the officers were of opinion, that it was proper to encamp in this place, to give the troops time to recover the extraordinary fatigues they had undergone in a long and painful march, and to rest there during the night; that in the mean time, all possible endeavours should be used to get intelligence of the enemy, and that when their number and disposition were known, they might attack them the next day. But Crassus suffering himself to be carried away by the ardour of his son, and of the horse under his command, who pressed him to lead them against the enemy, gave orders, that all who had occasion for refreshment should eat under arms in their ranks; and scarce allowing them time for that purpose, he commanded them to march, and led them on, not slowly, and halting sometimes, but with rapidity, and as fast as they could move, till they came in view of the enemy. Contrary to their expectation, they did not appear either so numerous or so terrible, as they had been represented, which was a stratagem of Surena's. He had concealed the greatest part of his battalions behind the advanced troops, and to prevent their being perceived by the brightness of their arms, he had given them orders to cover themselves with their vests or with skins.

When they approached, and were ready to charge, the Parthian general had no sooner given the signal of battle, than the whole field resounded with dreadful cries, and the

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most

* The Roman cohort was a body of hundred men; and differed very little from what is now called a battalion.

most frightful noise. For the Parthians did not excite their troops to battle with horns or trumpets, but made use of a great number of hollow instruments, covered with leather, and having bells of brass round them, which they struck violently against each other, the noise made by these instruments was rude and terrible, and seemed like the roaring of wild beasts, joined with claps of thunder. Those Barbarians had well observed, that of all the senses none disorder the soul more than the hearing; that it strikes upon, and affects the most immediately, and is the most sudden in making it in a manner change its nature.

The trouble and dismay into which this noise had cast the Romans, were quite different, when the Parthians, throwing off on a sudden the covering of their arms, appeared all on fire, from the exceeding brightness of their helmets and cuirasses, which were of burning steel, and glittered like sun-beams, and to which the furniture and armour of their horses added not a little. At their head appeared Surenas, handsome, well-made, of an advantageous stature, and of a much greater reputation for valour than the effeminacy of his mien seemed to promise. For he painted after the fashion of the Medes, and, like them, wore his hair curled and dressed with art; whereas the Parthians still persevered in wearing theirs after the manner of the Scythians, much neglected, and such as nature gave them, in order to appear more terrible.

At first the Barbarians were for charging the Romans with their pikes, and endeavoured to penetrate and break the front ranks; but having observed the depth of the hollow square, so well closed, and even, in which the troops stood firm and supported each other successfully, they fell back, and retired in a seeming confusion, as if their order of battle were broke. But the Romans were much astonished to see their whole army surrounded on all sides. Crassus immediately gave orders for his archers and light-armed foot to charge them; but they could not execute those orders long; for they were reduced by an hail of arrows to retire, and cover themselves by their heavy-armed foot.

Their disorder and dismay began now, upon experiencing the rapidity and force of those arrows, against which no armour was proof, and which penetrated alike whatever they hit. The Parthians dividing, applied themselves to shooting at a distance, without its being possible for them to miss, though they had endeavoured it, so close were the Roman embattled. They did dreadful execution, and made deep wounds,

wounds, drawing their bows to t
strings di a their arrows. of t n
with an i a force that notn could

The Romans, attacked in this manner, on all the
enemy, knew not in w manner to act. If t y d
firm in their ranks, they were wounded mortally, ir
quitted them to charge the enemy, they could do t
hurt, and suffered no less than before. T
before them, and kept a continual discharge as
for of all nations in the world they were the m e
that exercise after the Scythians: an operation in
wisely conceived; for in flying they saved their l
fighting avoided the infamy of flight.

As long as the Romans had hopes, that the Barbarians;
after having exhausted all their arrows, would either give
over the fight, or come to blows with them hand to hand,
they supported their distress with valour and resolution; but
when they perceived that in the rear of the enemy, there
were camels laden with arrows, whither those, who had ex-
hausted their quivers, wheeled about to replenish them,
Crassus, losing almost all courage, sent orders to his son to
endeavour, whatever it cost him, to join the enemy, before
he was entirely surrounded by them; for they were princi-
pally intent against him, and were wheeling about to take
him in the rear.

Young Crassus, therefore at the head of 1300 horse, 500
archers, and * eight cohorts armed with round bucklers,
wheeled about against those who endeavoured to surround
him. The latter, whether they were afraid to stand before a
body of troops that came on with so good an aspect, or rather
designed to draw off young Crassus, as far as they could
from his father, immediately faced about and fled. Young
Crassus upon that, crying out as loud as he could, *They don't
stand us*, pushed on full speed after them. The foot, ani-
mated by the example of the horse, piqued themselves upon
not staying behind, and followed them at their heels, carried
on by their eagerness, and the joy which the hopes of victory
gave them. They firmly believed they had conquered, and
had nothing to do but to pursue, till being at a great distance
from their main body, they discovered their error; for those
who seemed to fly, faced about, and being joined by many
other troops, came on to charge the Romans.

Young Crassus thereupon made his troops halt, in hopes
that the enemy, upon seeing their small number, would not

Q 6

fail

* They consisted of near 6000 men.

fail to attack them, and come to close fight. But those Barbarians contented themselves with opposing him in front with their heavy-armed horse, and sent out elements of their light horse, that wheeling about, and surrounding them on all sides without joining them, poured in a perpetual flight of arrows upon them. At the same time, by stirring up the heaps of sand, they raised so thick a dust, that the Romans could neither see nor speak to one another; and by being pent up in a narrow space, and keeping close order, they were a kind of butt for every arrow shot at them, and died by slow, but cruel deaths. For finding their entrails pierced, and not being able to support the pains they suffered, they rolled themselves upon the sands with the arrows in their bodies, and expired in that manner in exquisite torments; or endeavouring to tear out by force the bearded points of the arrows, which had penetrated across their veins, and nerves, they only made their wounds larger, and increased their pains.

Most of them died in this manner; and those, who were still alive, were no longer in any condition to act. For when young Crassus exhorted them to charge the heavy-armed horse, they shewed him their hands nailed to their bucklers, and their feet pierced through and through, and rivetted to the ground; so that it was equally impossible for them either to defend themselves, or fly. Putting himself therefore at the head of his horse, he made a vigorous charge upon that heavy-armed body covered with iron, and threw himself boldly amongst the squadrons, but with great disadvantage, as well in attacking as defending. For his troops, with weak and short javelins, struck against armour either of excellent steel, or very hard leather; whereas the Barbarians charged the Gauls, who were either naked or lightly armed, with good and strong spears. These Gauls were troops in whom young Crassus placed the greatest confidence, and with whom he did most wonderful exploits. For those troops took hold of the spears of the Parthians, and closing with them, seized them by the neck, and threw them off their horses upon the ground, where they lay without power to stir, from the exceeding weight of their arms. Several of the Gauls quitting their horses, crept under those of the enemy, and thrust their swords into their bellies. The horses, wild with the pain, leaped and reared, and throwing off their riders, trampled them under foot as well as the enemy, and fell dead upon both.

But what gave the Gauls most trouble, was heat and thirst; for they were not accustomed to support them. They lost also the greatest part of their horses, which running precipitately upon that heavy-armed body killed themselves upon their spears. They were obliged therefore to retire to their infantry, and to carry off young Crassus, who had received several dangerous wounds.

Upon their way they saw, at a small distance, a rising bank of sand, to which they retired. They fastened their horses in the center, and made an enclosure with their bucklers, by way of entrenchment; in hopes that it would assist them considerably in defending themselves against the Barbarians; but it happened quite otherwise. For in an even place, the front covered the rear, and gave it some relaxation, whereas upon this hill, the inequality of the ground shewing over each other's heads, and those in the rear most, they were all exposed to the enemy's shot. So that, unable to avoid the arrows, which the Barbarians showered continually upon them, they were all equally the marks of them, and deplored their unhappy destiny, in perishing miserably, without being able to make use of their arms, or to give the enemy proofs of their valour.

Young Crassus had two Greeks with him, who had settled in that country in the city of Carræ. Those two young men, touched with compassion to see him in so sad a condition, pressed him to make off with them, and to retire into the city of Ischnes, which had espoused the party of the Romans, and was not very remote. But he replied, *That the fear of no death, however cruel, could induce him to abandon so many brave men, who died out of love for him.* A noble sentiment for a young lord! He ordered them to make off as fast as they could, and embracing them, dismissed them the service. For himself, not being able to make use of his hand, which was shot through with an arrow, he commanded one of his domesticks to thrust his sword through him, and presented his side to him. The principal officers killed themselves, and many of those that remained were slain, fighting with exceeding valour. The Parthians made only about five hundred prisoners, and after having cut off young Crassus's head, marched immediately against his father.

The latter, after having ordered his son to charge the Parthians, and received advice, that they were put to the rout, and pursued vigorously, had resumed some courage, and the more, because those who opposed him, seemed to

abate

abate considerably of their ardour; for the greatest part of them were gone with the rest against young Crassus. Wherefore, drawing his army together, he retired to a small hill in his rear, in hopes that his son would speedily return from the pursuit.

Of a great number of officers, sent successively by his son to inform him of the danger he was in, the greatest part had fallen into the hands of the Barbarians, who he put them to the sword. Only the last, who had escaped with great difficulty, got to his presence, and declared to him that his son was lost, if he did not send him directly a powerful reinforcement. Upon this news, Crassus was struck with such a diversity of afflicting thoughts, and his reason thereby so much disturbed, that he was no longer capable of seeing or hearing any thing. However, the desire of saving his son and the army, determined him to go to his aid, and he ordered the troops to march.

The Parthians, who returned from the defeat of young Crassus, arrived that moment with great cries and songs of victory, which from far apprized the unfortunate father of his misfortune. The Barbarians, carrying the head of young Crassus upon the end of a spear, approached the Romans, and insulting them with the most scornful bravadoes, they asked them of what family and relations that young Roman was: *For, said they, it is impossible that a young man of such extraordinary valour and bravery should be the son of so base and cowardly a father as Crassus.*

This sight exceedingly dispirited the Romans, and instead of exciting the height of anger, and the desire of revenge in them, froze them with terror and dismay. Crassus, however, shewed more constancy and courage on his disgrace, than he had done before; and running through the ranks, he cried out, “ Romans, this mourning regards only me. The fortune and glory of Rome are still invulnerable and invincible, whilst you continue firm and intrepid. If you have any compassion for a father, who has just now lost a son, whose valour you admired, let it appear in your rage and resentment against the Barbarians. Deprive them of their insolent joy, punish their cruelty, and do not suffer yourselves to be cast down by my misfortune. There is a necessity for experiencing some loss, when we aspire at great achievements. Lucullus did not defeat Tigranes, nor Scipio, Antiochus, without costing them some blood. It is after the greatest defeats that Rome has acquired the greatest victories. It is not by the favour of fortune she has
“ attained

"attained to so high a degree of power, but by her patience an fortitude in supporting herself with vigour against adversity."

Crassus endeavoured by remonstrances of this kind to reanimate his troops: but when he had given them orders to raise the cry of battle, he perceived the general discouragement of his army, even in that cry itself, which was faint, unequal, and timorous; whereas that of the enemy was bold, full, and strenuous.

The charge being given in consequence, the of the Parthians dispersed themselves upon the Romans, and taking them in flank, distressed them with their arrows, whilst the heavy cavalry charged them in front, and obliged them to close up their body; except those, who, to avoid the wounds occasioned a long flight, and lost all courage to throw themselves upon despair. Though they did not do them much harm, audacity was attended with this advance; their dying immediately, by the large wounds they received. For the Barbarians thrust their spears into their bodies with such force and vigour, that they killed two at once.

After having fought in that manner the remainder of the day, upon night's coming on, the Barbarians retired; saying, they would grant Crassus only that night to lament for his son, unless he should find it more expedient to consult his own safety, and prefer going voluntarily to being dragged to their king Arsaces. They then encamped in the presence of the Roman army, in the firm expectation, that the next day they should meet with little or no difficulty in completing its defeat.

This was a terrible night for the Romans. They had no thoughts either of interring their dead, or of dressing their wounded, of whom the greatest part died in the most horrible torments. Every man was solely intent upon his particular distress. For they all saw plainly, that they could not escape, whether they waited for day in the camp, or ventured, during the night, to throw themselves into that immense plain, of which they saw no end. Besides which, in the latter choice, their wounded gave them great trouble. For to carry them off, would be very difficult, and extremely retard their flight; and if they were left behind, it was not to be doubted but they would discover the departure of the army by their cries and lamentations.

Though

Though they were perfectly sensible, that Crassus alone was the cause of all their misfortunes, they however were unanimous in desiring to see his face, and to hear his voice. But for him, lying upon the ground, in an obscure corner, with his head covered in his cloke, he was to the vulgar, says Plutarch, a great example of the instability of fortune; to wise and considerate persons, a still greater of the pernicious effects of temerity and ambition, which had blinded him to such a degree, that he could not bear to be less at Rome than the first of so many millions of men, and thought himself low and mean, because there were two above him, Cæsar and Pompey.

Octavius, one of his lieutenants, and Cassius approached him, and endeavoured to make him rise, and to console and encourage him. But seeing him entirely depressed by the weight of his affliction, and deaf to all consolation and remonstrance, they assembled the principal officers, and held a council of war directly; and it being their unanimous opinion, that it was necessary to retire immediately, they decamped without sound of trumpet. This was done at first with great silence. But soon after the sick and wounded, who could not follow, perceiving themselves abandoned, filled the camp with tumult and confusion, cries, shrieks, and horrible lamentations; so that the troops, who marched foremost, were seized with trouble and terror, imagining the enemy were coming on to attack them. By frequently turning back, and drawing up in battle, or busying themselves in setting the wounded who followed them upon the beasts of carriage, and in dismounting such as were less sick, they lost abundance of time. There were only 300 horse, under the command of Ignatius, who did not stop, and arrived about midnight at the city of Carræ. Ignatius called to the sentinels upon the walls, and when they answered, bade them go to Coponius, who commanded in the place, and tell him that Crassus had fought a great battle with the Parthians; and without saying any more, or letting them know who he was, he pushed on with all possible expedition to the bridge Crassus had laid over the Euphrates, and saved his troops by that means. But he was very much blamed for having abandoned his general.

However, the message he had sent to Coponius by those guards was of great service to Crassus, for that governor, wisely conjecturing from the manner in which the unknown person had given him that intelligence, that it implied some disaster, gave orders immediately for the garrison to stand to their

their arms. / was informed of the way Crassus had taken, he / out to meet him, and conducted him and his army into the city. The Parthians, though well informed of his flight, would not pursue him in the dark. But the next day early entered the camp, and put all the wounded, who had been left there, to the number of four thousand; to the sword; and their cavalry being dispersed over the plain after those who fled, took abundance of them, whom they found straggling on all sides.

One of Crassus's lieutenants, named Vargunteius, having separated in the night from the gross of the army with four cohorts, missed his way, and was found the next morning upon a small eminence by the Barbarians, who attacked him. He defended himself with great valour, but was at length overpowered by multitudes, and all his soldiers killed, except twenty, who, with sword in hand, fell on the enemy in despair, in order to open themselves a passage through them. The Barbarians were so much astonished at their bravery, that out of admiration of it, they opened, and gave them a passage. They arrived safe at Carræ.

At the same time Surena received false advice, that Crassus had escaped with the best of his troops, and that those who had retired to Carræ, were only a militia, that were not worth the trouble of pursuing. Surena, believing the reward of his victory lost, but still uncertain whether it were or not, desired to be better informed, in order to his resolving either to besiege Carræ, if Crassus was there, or to pursue him if he had quitted it. He therefore dispatched one of his interpreters, who spoke both languages perfectly well, with orders to approach the walls of Carræ, and in the Roman language to desire to speak with Crassus himself or Cassius, and to say, That Surena demanded a conference with them.

The interpreter having executed his orders, Crassus accepted the proposal with joy. Soon after some Arabian soldiers came from the Barbarians who knew Crassus and Cassius by sight, from having seen them in the camp before the battle. Those soldiers approached the place, and seeing Cassius upon the walls, they told him, That Surena was inclined to treat with them, and permit them to retire, upon condition that they would continue in amity with the king his master, and abandon Mesopotamia to him: that this was more advantageous for both parties, than to proceed to the last extremities.

Cassius came into this, and demanded that the time and place for an interview between Surena and Cassius

of aid from the Armenians, and by that very night, losing a moment's time. It was highly important, that one of the inhabitants of Carræ should know this design at the instant of its execution. But Andromachus, one of the citizens, was informed of it first, and by Crassus, who confided it to him, and chose him for his guide, very injudiciously upon his fidelity.

The Parthians in consequence were not long before they were fully apprized of the whole plan, by the means of the traitor. But as it was not their custom to engage at night, the impostor, to prevent Crassus from getting on ground as might make it impossible for the Parthians to come up with him, led the Romans sometimes by one way and sometimes by another, and at length brought them into deep woods, and places abounding with great ditches, so that it was very difficult to march, and necessary to make great many turnings and windings to extricate themselves out of that labyrinth.

There were some who, suspecting that it was with a bad design Andromachus made them go backwards and forwards in that manner, refused at last to follow him, and he himself returned towards Carræ. By hasty marches he got into Syria with five hundred horse. Most of those who had trusty guides, gained the pass of the mountains called *Sinnachi*, and were in a place of safety before the

no more than twelve stadia to ke, I
troops under Octavius. All he c d do, v o j u
as possible another summit of thote ns,
cable to the horse, and in consequence i e. j
was under that of the *Sinnachi*, to which it i by a
long chain of mountains, that filled up all the ip i i
them. Octavius therefore saw plainly the da
threatened Crassus, and descended first himself
eminences, with a small number of soldiers, to his au.
he was soon followed by the rest, who, reproachi
selves for their cowardice, flew to his assist
their arrival they charged the Barbarians so rud
obliged them to abandon the hill. After t
Crassus in the midt of them, and forming a κ or
part for him with their bucklers, they d
that not an arrow of the enemy should ap acn
neral's body, till they were all dead round him,
his defence.

Surena, seeing that the Parthians, already repulsed, went
on with less vigour to the attack, and if the night came on,
and the Romans should make the mountains, that it would be
impossible for him to take them, he had again recourse to
stratagem to amuse Crassus. He gave secret orders, that
some prisoners should be set at liberty, after having posted a
number of his soldiers around them, who seeming in dis-
course together, said, as the general report of the army,
that the king was much averse to the continuing war with
the Romans; that, on the contrary, his design was to culti-
vate their amity, and to give them proofs of his favourable
inclinations, by treating Crassus with great humanity. And
that the effects might agree with their expressions, as soon as
the prisoners were released, the Barbarians retired from the
fight, and Surena, advancing peaceably with his principal
officers towards the hill, with his bow unstrung, and arms
extended, invited Crassus to come down and treat of an ac-
commodation. He said with a loud voice, that, contrary to
the king his master's will, and through the necessity of a just
defence, he had made them experience the force and power
of the Parthian arms; and that at present he was disposed to
treat them with mildness and favour, by granting them
liberty to retire with entire security on his part. We have
observed on more than one occasion, that the peculiar cha-
racteristick of these Barbarians was to promote the success
of their designs by fraud and treachery, and to make no
scrup

slaughtered by enemies, with whom he had not so much the courage to speak, when they appeared unarmed before him.

Crassus at first had recourse to entreaties, and remed to them, that by maintaining their ground, for that of the day, upon the eminences and difficult places, they then were, they might easily save themselves. But night came on: he even shewed them the way, and exhorted them not to frustrate such hopes of their approaching. But seeing they grew outrageous, that they were ready to mutiny, and by striking their swords upon their shields menaced him; apprehending that commotion, he began to descend, and turning about, he only said these few words: "Octavius, and you Petronius, with all the officers and captains here present, you see the necessity I am in of taking a step I would willingly avoid; and aware of the necessities of the indignities and violence I suffer. But I leave you, when you have retired in safety; that you will inform all the world, for the honour of Rome our common country, that Crassus perished, deceived by the enemy, and not abandoned by his citizens." Octavius and Petronius could not resolve to let him go alone; but went down with him, when Crassus dismissed his lictors, who had followed him.

The first persons the Barbarians sent to him were

to know only upon what foot they should treat, and in what number.

Surena caused those two brothers to be prisoners, and advancing on horseback, 10110
principal officers of his army, as soon as he perceiv
What do I see! said he, *What! the general of*
on foot, and we on horseback! Let an horse be bro
diately. He imagined that Crassus appeared in th...
before him out of respect. Crassus replied, *That there*
no reason to be surprized that they came to an interview,
*after the * custom of his own country. Very good, r*
Surena, *from henceforth let there be a treaty of peace*
king Orodes and the Romans: but we must go to pre
sign the articles of it upon the banks of the Euphrates.
Romans, added he, *do not always remember your con*
At the same time he held out his hand to him.
would have sent for an horse; but Surena told him
was no occasion for it, and that the king made him a
of that.

A horse was immediately presented to him, which had a
golden bit; and the king's officers, taking him round the
saddle, set him upon it, surrounded him, and began to
strike the horse to make him go forwards fast. Octavius
was the first, who, offended at such behaviour, took the
horse by the bridle. Petronius seconded him, and after-
wards all the rest of his attendants, who came round him,
and endeavoured to stop the horse, and to make those retire
by force, who pressed Crassus forwards. At first they pushed
against each other with great tumult and disorder, and
afterwards came to blows. Octavius, drawing his sword,
killed a groom of those Barbarians. At the same time
another of them gave Octavius a great wound with his
sword behind, which laid him dead upon the spot. Pe-
tronus, who had no shield, received a stroke upon his
cuirass, and leaped from his horse without being wound-
ed. Crassus at the same moment was killed by a Par-
thian. Of those that were present, some were killed fight-
ing around Crassus, and others retired in good time to the
hill.

The Parthians soon followed them thither, and told them,
that Crassus had suffered the punishment due to his treachery;
but for them, that Surena let them know they had only to
come

* Amongst the Romans the consul always marched on foot, at the head of
infantry.

come down with confidence, and gave them 1 word that they should suffer no ill treatment. Upon his promise some went down, and put themselves into the hands of the enemy; others took the advantage of the night, and dispersed on all sides. But of the latter very few escaped; all the rest were pursued the next day by the Arabians, who came up with them and put them to the sword.

The loss of this battle was the most terrible blow the Romans had received from the battle of Cannæ. They had 20,000 men killed in it, and 10,000 taken prisoners. The rest made their escape by different ways into Armenia, Cilicia, and Syria; and out of these wrecks another army was afterwards formed in Syria, of which Cassius took upon him the command, and with it prevented that country from falling into the hands of the victor.

This defeat ought in one sense to have been more affecting to them than that of the battle of Cannæ, because they had less reason to expect it. When Hannibal was victorious at Cannæ, Rome was in a state of humiliation. She had already lost many battles, and had no thought but of defending herself, and repulsing the enemy. At this time Rome was triumphant, respected, and formidable to all nations: she was mistress of the most potent kingdoms of Europe, Asia, and Africa, lately victorious over one of the most powerful enemies she ever had; yet in the most exalted height of her greatness, she saw her glory suddenly fall to the ground, in an attack upon a people, formed out of the assemblage of the eastern nations, whose valour she despised, and whom she reckoned already amongst her conquests. So complete a victory shewed those haughty conquerors of the world a rival remote people, capable of making head against, and disputing the empire of the universe with them; and not only of setting bounds to their ambitious projects, but of making them apprehend for their own safety. It shewed that the Romans might be overthrown in a pitched battle, and fighting with all their forces; that that power, which till then, like the inundation of a mighty sea, had overflowed all the countries in its way, might at length receive bounds, and be restrained for the future within them.

The check received by Crassus from the Parthians was a blot on the Roman name, which the victories gained some time after by Ventidius were not capable of erasing. The standards of the vanquished legions were always shewn by

them as light. The * prisoners taken in that fatal day kept there in captivity, and the Romans, citizens or no, contracted ignominious marriages to the shame of the name, as Horace emphatically describes it, and grew old in tranquillity, upon the lands, and under the standard of Barbarians. It was not till thirty years after, in the reign of Augustus, that the king of the Parthians, without being compelled to it by arms, consented to restore their standards and prisoners to the Romans; which was looked upon by Augustus, and the whole empire, as a most glorious triumph; so much were the Romans humbled by the remembrance of that defeat, and so much did they believe it incumbent on them to efface it, if possible, to the least trace! themselves they never could forget it. Cæsar was upon the point of setting out against the Parthians to avenge the wrongs Rome had received from them, when he was killed. Antony formed the same design, which turned to his disgrace. The Romans, from that time, always regarded war with the Parthians as the most important of their wars. It was the object of the application of their most warlike emperors, Trajan, Septimus, Severus, &c. The surname of *Parthicus* was the title of which they were fondest, most sensibly flattered their ambition. If the Romans sometimes passed the Euphrates to extend their conquests beyond it, the Parthians in their turn did the same, to carry their arms and devastation into Syria, and even into Palestine. In a word, the Romans could never subdue the Parthians to their yoke, and that nation was like a wall of brass, which with impregnable force resisted the most violent attacks of their power.

When the battle of Carræ was fought, Orodes was in Armenia, where he had lately concluded a peace with Artabanus. The latter, upon the return of the expresses he had sent to Crassus, perceiving, by the false measures he took, that the Romans were infallibly lost, treated an accommodation with Orodes, and by giving one of his daughters to Artabanus, the son of the Parthian king, he cemented by that alliance the treaty he had lately made. Whilst they were celebrating

- * Milesne Crassi conjuge barbara
Turpis maritus vixit? Et hostium
(Proh Curia, inverisque mores!)
- Consenuit socerorum in armis
Sub rego Medo, Marfus & Appulus,
Ancillorum, nominis, & tugæ
Oblitus, æternæque Vestæ,
Incolumi Jove, & urbe Roma?

celebrating the nuptials, the head and hand of Crassus were brought to them, which Surena had caused to be cut off, and sent the king as a proof of his victory. Their joy was exceedingly augmented by that sight, and it was said that orders were given to pour molten gold into the mouth of that head, to reproach the insatiable thirst which Crassus always had for that metal.

Surena did not long enjoy the pleasure of his victory. His master, jealous of his glory, and of the credit it gave him, caused him to be put to death soon after. There are princes, near whom too shining qualities are dangerous, who take umbrage at the virtues they are forced to admire, and cannot bear to be served by superior talents, capable of eclipsing their own. Orodes was of this character. He perceived, as Tacitus observes of Tiberius, that with all his power he could not sufficiently repay the service his general had lately done him. Now, when a benefit is above all return, ingratitude and hatred take place, instead of acknowledgment and affection.

Surena was a general of extraordinary merit. He was of consummate ability at thirty years of age, and surpassed all men of his times in valour. He was, besides that, perfectly well made, and of the most advantageous stature. For riches, credit, and authority, he had also more than any man, and was, undoubtedly, the greatest subject the king of Parthia had. His birth gave him the privilege of putting the crown upon the king's head at his coronation, and that right had appertained to his family from the re-establishment of the empire. When he travelled, he had always 1000 camels to carry his baggage, 200 chariots for his wives and concubines, and for his guard, 1000 horse completely armed, besides a great number of light-armed troops, and domesticks, which in all did not amount to less than 10,000 men.

The Parthians expecting, after the defeat of the Roman army, to find Syria without defence, marched to conquer it. But Cassius, who had formed an army out of the ruins of the other, received them with so much vigour, that they were obliged to repass the Euphrates shamefully, without effecting any thing.

The

* *Destitui per hanc sortum suam Caesar, imparioremque tanto merito rebatur. Nam beneficia eo usque lata sunt dum videntur exsolvi posse; ubi multum antevenero, pro gratia odium redditur.*
Tacit. Annal. l. iv. c. 28.

The next (*k*) year the consuls, M. Calpurnius Bibulus and M. Tullius Cicero, were assigned the provinces of Syria and Cilicia. Cicero repaired immediately to the latter, which had been allotted him; but Bibulus amusing himself at Rome, Cassius continued to command in Syria. And that was much to the advantage of the Romans; for the affairs of that country required a man of a quite different capacity to Bibulus. Pacorus, son of Orodes king of the Parthians, had passed the Euphrates in the beginning of the spring, at the head of a numerous army, and had entered Syria. He was too young to command alone, and was therefore accompanied by Orfices, an old general, who disposed of every thing. He marched directly to Antioch, which he besieged. Cassius had shut himself up in that place with all his troops. Cicero, who had received advice of his condition in his province, by the means of Antiochus king of Comagena, assembled all his forces, and marched to the eastern frontier of his province, which bordered upon Armenia, to oppose an invasion on that side, should the Armenians attempt it, and at the same time to be at hand to support Cassius in case of need. He sent another body of troops towards the mountain Amanus, with the same view. That detachment fell in with a great detachment of the Parthian cavalry, which had entered Cilicia, and entirely defeated it, so that not a single man escaped.

The news of this defeat, and that of Cicero's approach to Antioch, extremely encouraged Cassius and his troops to make a good defence, and so much abated the ardour of the Parthians, that despairing to carry the place, they raised the siege, and went to form that of Antigonias, which was not far from thence. But they were so little skilled in attacking towns, that they miscarried again before this, and were reduced to retire. That was no wonder; the Parthians made their principal force consist in cavalry, and applied themselves most to field-battle, which suited their genius best. Cassius, who was apprized of the rout they would take, laid an ambuscade for them, which they did not fail to fall into. He defeated them entirely, and killed a great number of them, amongst whom was their general Orfices. The remains of their army repassed the Euphrates.

When Cicero saw the Parthians removed, and Antioch out of danger, he turned his arms against the inhabitants of

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(1) A. M. 3953. Ant. J. C. 51. Cic. ad Famil. i. ii. Epist. 10. 17. iii. 2. xii. 19. xv. 1-4. Ad Attic. i. v. 18, 20, 21. vi. 7, 8, vii. 2.

mount Amanus, who being free and independent of, and at the same time, and Cilicia, were independent of, and at the same time, gave them great trouble. Cicero entirely subjected those mountaineers, and took and demolished all their castles and forts. He afterwards marched against another barbarous nation, a kind of savages, who called themselves (1) free Cilicians, and pretended to have never been subjected to the empire of any of the kings, who had been masters of the countries round about. He took all their cities, and made such dispositions in the country, as very much pleased all their neighbours, whom they perpetually harassed.

It is Cicero himself, who relates these circumstances in several of his letters. There are two among the rest, which may be looked upon as perfect models of the manner in which a general, or commander, ought to give a prince, or his ministry, an account of a military expedition; with such simplicity, perspicuity, and precision, in which the proper character of writings and relations of this kind consists, are they expressed. The first is addressed to the senate and people of Rome, and to the principal magistrates; it is the second of his fifteenth book of familiar epistles; the other is wrote particularly to Cato. This last is a masterpiece, wherein Cicero, who passionately desired the honour of a triumph for his military expeditions, employs all the art and address of eloquence to engage that grave senator in his favour. Plutarch tells us (m), that after his return to Rome, the senate offered him a triumph, and he refused it, upon account of the civil war then ready to break out between Cæsar and Pompey; not believing that it became him to celebrate a solemnity which breathed nothing but joy, at a time when the state was upon the point of falling into the greatest calamities. His refusal to triumph in the midst of the apprehensions and disorders of a bloody civil war, argues in Cicero a great love for the publick good and his country, and does him much more honour than a triumph itself could have done.

During the civil war between Pompey and Cæsar, and those that followed, the Parthians, declaring some times for one, and some times for the other party, made several irruptions into Syria and Palestine. But those are events which particularly relate to the Roman or Jewish histories, and therefore do not enter into my plan.

(1) *Elepb. re Cilices.*

(m) *Plut. in Cic. p. 879.*

I shall conclude this abridgment of that of the Parthians, with the deaths of Pacorus and Orodes his father. Ventidius, who commanded the Roman armies, under the authority of Antony the triumvir, did not a little contribute to the re-establishing the honour of the nation. He was a foldier of fortune, who, from the lowest condition of (*n*) life, had raised himself by his merit to the highest dignities of the republick. In the war against the allies of Rome, who attempted to extort the freedom of the city by force, he was taken an infant, with his mother, in Asculum, the capital of the Picenians, by Strabo, the father of Pompey the Great, and led in triumph before that general. Supported by the credit of C. Cæsar, under whom he had served in Gaul, and passed through all the degrees of the army, he became prætor and consul. He was the only person that triumphed for his exploits against the Parthians, and obtained that honour, after having been led in a triumph himself.

I have said, that Ventidius contributed very much to make the Romans amends for the affront they had received at the battle of Carræ. He had begun to revenge the defeat of Crassus and his army, by two successive victories gained over those terrible enemies. A third, still greater than the former, completed the work, and was obtained in this manner.

That (*o*) general, apprehending the Parthians, whose preparations were much advanced, would prevent him, and pass the Euphrates before he had time to draw all his troops together out of their different quarters, had recourse to this stratagem. There was a petty eastern prince in his camp, under the name of an ally, whom he knew to be entirely in the interests of the Parthians, and that he held secret intelligence with them, and gave them advice of all the designs of the Romans, which he could discover. He resolved to make this man's treachery the means to draw the Parthians into a snare he had laid for them.

With that view he had contracted a more than ordinary intimacy with this traitor. He conversed frequently with him upon the operations of the campaign. Affecting at length to open himself to him with great confidence,

R 2

he

(*n*) Vell. Paterc. l. ii. c. 65. Valer. Max. l. vi. c. 9. Aul. Gell. l. xv. c. 4. (*o*) A. M. 3965. Antiq. J. C. 39. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiv. c. 24. Plut. in Anton. p. 931. Appian. in Parth. p. 156. Dion. Cass. l. lxx. p. 403, 404. Justin. l. xlii. c. 4.

he observed, that he was much afraid, [redacted] n advices he had received, that the Parthians did not [redacted] to pass the Euphrates at Zeugma, as usual, but a [redacted] way lower. For, said he, if they pass at Zeugma, the country on this side is so mountainous, that the cavalry, in which the whole force of their army consists, can do [redacted] us no great hurt. But if they pass below, there are nothing [redacted] but plains, where they have all manner of advantages against us, and it will be impossible for us to make head against them. As soon as he had imparted this secret to him; the spy did not fail, as Ventidius had rightly foreseen, to communicate it to the Parthians, with whom it had all the effect he could desire. Pacorus, instead of going to Zeugma, immediately took the other rout, lost abundance of time in the great compass he was obliged to take, and in the preparations necessary for passing the river there. Ventidius got forty days by this means, which he employed in making Silon of Judæa join him, with the legions quartered on the other side of the mount Taurus, and found himself in a condition to give the Parthians a good reception when they entered Syria.

As they saw that they had not been attacked either in passing the river, or afterwards, they attributed that inactivity to terror and cowardice, and marched directly to charge the enemy in their camp, though situated very advantageously upon an eminence, not doubting but they should soon make themselves masters of it, and that without much resistance. They were mistaken. The Romans quitted their camp, fell on them with impetuosity, and pushed them with the utmost vigour upon the declivity; and as they had the advantage of the ground, and their light-armed troops poured showers of darts upon the Parthians, they soon put them into disorder, notwithstanding the vigorous resistance they made at first. The slaughter was very great. Pacorus was killed in the battle, and his death was followed immediately with the flight of his whole army. The vanquished made haste to regain the bridge, in order to return into their own country: but the Romans prevented them, and cut the greatest part of them in pieces. Some few escaping by flight, retired to Antiochus king of Comagena. History observes, that this celebrated battle, which is well revenged the defeat of Crassus, was fought exactly on the same day with the battle of Carræ fourteen years before.

* Orodes was so struck with the loss of this battle, and the death of his son, that he was almost out of his senses. For several days he neither opened his mouth, nor took any nourishment. When the excess of his grief was a little abated, and would permit him to speak, nothing was heard from him but the name of Pacorus. He imagined that he saw him, and called to him; he seemed to discourse with him, and as if he were living to speak to him, and hear him speak. At other times he remembered that he was dead, and shed a torrent of tears.

Never was grief more just. This was the most fatal blow for the Parthian monarchy it had ever received; nor was the loss of the prince less than that of the army itself. For he was the most excellent person the house of the Arsacides had ever produced, for justice, clemency, valour, and all the qualities which constitute the truly great prince. He had made himself so much beloved in Syria, during the little time he resided there, that never did the people express more affection for any of their native sovereigns, than for the person of this foreign prince.

When Orodes had a little recovered the dejection, into which the death of his dear son Pacorus had thrown him, he found himself extremely embarrassed about the choice of his successor out of his other children. He had thirty by different women, each of whom solicited him in favour of her own, and made use of all the ascendancy she had over a spirit impaired by age and affliction. At last he determined however to follow the order of birth, and nominated PHRAATES, the eldest and most vicious of them all. (p) He had scarce taken possession of the throne, when he caused all his brothers, whom his father had by the daughter of Antiochus Eusebes, king of Syria, to be murdered, and that only because their mother was of a better family than his, and they had more merit than himself. The father, who was still alive, not being able to avoid professing extreme displeasure upon that occasion, that unnatural son ordered him also to be put to death. He treated the rest of his brothers in the same manner, and

R 3

did

(p) A. M. 3967. Ant: J. C. 37.

* Orodes, repente filii morte & exercitus clade audita, ex dolore in furem vertitur. Multis diebus non alloqui quenquam, non cibum sumere, non vocem mittere, ita ut etiam mutus factus videretur. Post multos deinde dies, ubi do-

lor vocem laxaverat, nihil aliud quam Pacorum vocabat. Pacorus illi videri, Pacorus audiri videbatur: cum illo loqui, cum illo consistere. Interdum quasi amissum flebiliter dolebat. *Justin.*

did not spare his own son, from the apprehension that the people would set him upon the throne in his stead. It was this prince, so cruel in regard to all his own family, that treated Hyrcanus, king of the Jews, with peculiar favour and clemency.

ARTICLE III.

Abridgment of the history of the kings of Cappadocia, from the foundation of that kingdom to the time when it became a province of the Roman empire.

I Have spoke in several parts of this history of the kings of Cappadocia, according as I had occasion, but without mentioning either their beginning or succession. I shall here unite in one point of view all that relates to that kingdom.

Cappadocia is a great country (*p*) of Asia Minor. The Persians, under whom it was at first, had divided it into two parts, and established two satrapies or governments in it. The Macedonians, into whose possession it fell, suffered those two governments to be changed into kingdoms. The one extended towards mount Taurus, and was properly called Cappadocia, or Cappadocia Major, the other towards Pontus, and was called Cappadocia Pontica, or Cappadocia Minor; they were at length united into one kingdom.

Strabo says, that Ariarathes was the first king of Cappadocia, but does not mention at what time he began to reign. (*q*) It is probable, that it was about the time Philip, father of Alexander the Great, began to reign in Macedonia, and Ochus in Persia; admitting that the kingdom of Cappadocia continued three hundred threescore and sixteen years, before it was reduced into a province of the Roman empire under Tiberius.

It was governed at first by a long succession of kings named Ariarathes, then by kings called Ariobarzanes, who did not exceed the third generation; and at length by the last, Archelaus. According to Diodorus Siculus, there were many kings of Cappadocia before Ariarathes; but as their history is almost entirely unknown, I shall make no mention of it in this place.

(*r*) **ARIARATHES I.** He reigned jointly with his brother Holophernes, for whom he had a particular affection.

(*s*) Have-

(*p*) Strabo. l. xii. p. 533, 534. (*q*) A. M. 3644. Ant. J. C. 360.
(*r*) A. M. 3644. Ant. J. C. 360.

(*t*) Having joined the Persians in the expedition against Egypt, he acquired great glory, and returned home laden with honours by king Ochus.

ARIARATHES II. son of the former, (*t*) had lived at peace in his dominions, during the wars of Alexander the Great, who, out of impatience to come to blows with Darius, was unwilling to be delayed for the conquest of Cappadocia, and had contented himself with some instances of submission.

After that prince's death, Cappadocia, in the partition made of the provinces of his empire by his generals, fell to Eumenes. Perdiccas, to put him into possession of it, conducted him thither at the head of a powerful army. Ariarathes on his side prepared for a vigorous defence. He had thirty thousand foot, and a numerous cavalry. They came to a battle. Ariarathes was defeated and taken prisoner. Perdiccas caused him, with his principal officers, to be crucified, and put Eumenes into possession of his dominions.

ARIARATHES III. After the death of his father escaped into Armenia.

(*u*) As soon as he was apprized of the death of Perdiccas and Eumenes, and the employment the other wars gave Antigonus and Seleucus, he entered Cappadocia with troops, lent him by Aradotes king of Armenia. He defeated Amyntas, general of the Macedonians, drove him out of the country, and re-ascended the throne of his ancestors.

(*x*) ARIAMNES his eldest son succeeded him. He entered into an alliance with Antiochus Theos king of Syria, and married his eldest son to Stratonice, the daughter of the same Antiochus. He had so great an affection for this son, that he made him his colleague in the kingdom.

ARIARATHES IV. having reigned alone after the death of his father, left his dominions, when he died, to his son of the same name with himself, who was at that time very young.

(*y*) ARIARATHES V. He married Antiochis, daughter of Antiochus the Great, an artificial princess, who, finding herself barren, had recourse to imposture. She deceived her husband, and made him believe that she had two sons, one of whom.

R 4

(*s*) A. M. 3653. Ant. J. C. 351. (*t*) A. M. 3668. Ant. J. C. 336. Plat. in Eumen. p. 548. D od. l. xviii. p. 599. (*u*) A. M. 3689. Ant. J. C. 315. (*x*) A. M. 3720. Ant. J. C. 284. (*y*) A. M. 3814. Aft. J. C. 190.

whom was called Ariarathes, and the other * Holopernes. Her barrenness ceasing some time after, she had two daughters, and then one son, who was named Mithridates. She confessed the fraud to her husband, and sent one of the supposed children to be brought up at Rome, with a small train, and the other into Ionia. The true son took the name of Ariarathes, and was educated after the manner of the Greeks.

ARIARATHES V. supplied his father-in-law, Antiochus king of Syria, with troops, in the war which he undertook against the Romans. Antiochus having been defeated, Ariarathes sent (z) ambassadors to Rome, to ask the senate's pardon, for having been obliged to declare against the Romans in favour of his father-in-law. This was granted him, but not till after he had been condemned to pay, by way of expiation of his fault, two hundred talents, that is to say, two hundred thousand crowns. The senate afterwards abated him half that sum, at the request of Eumenes king of Pergamus, who had lately married his daughter.

Ariarathes afterwards entered into an alliance with his son-in-law Eumenes, against Pharnaces king of Pontus. The Romans, who had rendered themselves arbiters of the kings of the East, sent ambassadors to transact a treaty between those three princes: but Pharnaces rejected their mediation. However two years after, he was obliged to treat with Eumenes and Ariarathes upon conditions sufficiently hard.

The latter had a son of his own name, who loved him in the most tender manner, which occasioned his being surnamed Philopator, and for whom he had no less affection. He desired to give him the proofs of it, in resigning the kingdom to him, and placing him upon the throne during his life. The son, who had all possible affection and respect for a father that so well deserved both, could not resolve to accept an offer so advantageous in the vulgar opinion of men, but a mortal wound to so good a heart as his; and represented to his father, that he was not one of those who could consent to reign during the life of him to whom he owed his being. Such examples of moderation, generosity, disinterestedness, and sincere affection for a father, are the more extraordinary, and were the more admired, as in the times of which we are now relating

(z) Liv. I. xxxvii. c. 40. I. xxxviii. c. 37. & 39.

* He is called so by Polybius, and Oropernes by Diodorus Siculus.

lating the history, inordinate ambition respected nothing, and boldly violated the most sacred ties of nature and religion.

ARIARATHES VI. surnamed Philopator, reigned after his father's death, and was an excellent prince. As soon (a) he ascended the throne, he sent an embassy to Rome, to renew the alliance his father had contracted with the Romans, which he found no difficulty to obtain. He applied himself very closely to the study of philosophy, from whence Cappadocia, which, till then, had been unknown to the Greeks, became the residence of many learned men.

Demetrius, king of Syria, had a sister, whom Ariarathes refused to espouse, lest that alliance should give offence to the Romans. That refusal extremely prejudiced Demetrius against the king of Cappadocia. He soon found an occasion to be revenged, by supplying Holophernes with troops, who pretended himself the brother of (b) Ariarathes, expelled him from the throne, and after that violence reigned tyrannically. He put many to death, confiscated the estates of the greatest lords, and even plundered a temple of Jupiter, which had been revered by the people from time immemorial, and had never suffered such a violence before. Apprehending a revolution, which his cruelty gave him reason to expect, he deposited * four hundred talents with the inhabitants of Priene, a city of Ionia. Ariarathes had taken refuge at Rome, to implore aid of the Romans. The usurper sent his deputies thither also. The senate, according to the usual motives of their policy, decreed that the kingdom should be divided between the two brothers.

(c) Ariarathes found a more immediate and more effectual protector, in the person of Attalus king of Pergamus, who signalized the beginning of his reign by re-establishing this unfortunate prince upon the throne of his ancestors. Ariarathes, to revenge himself on the usurper, was for obliging the inhabitants of Priene to deliver into his hands the four hundred talents Holophernes had left with them. They opposed that demand, with pleading the inviolable faith of deposits, which would not admit their giving up that sum to any one whatsoever, during the life of the person who had confided it to their keeping.

Aria-

(a) A. M. 3842. Ant. J. C. 162. Diod. in Eclog. l. xxxi. p. 865.

(b) Diod. in Excerpt. p. 331, & 336. (c) A. M. 3845. Ant. J. C. 59.

* Four hundred thousand crowns.

Ariarathes had no regard to so just a representation, and laid waste their lands without mercy, notwithstanding which, so considerable a loss did not induce them to violate the fidelity they thought themselves obliged to observe in regard to him, who had confided that deposit with them.

Holophernes had (*d*) retired to Antioch, where he joined in a conspiracy with the inhabitants of that city against Demetrius his benefactor, whose place he had conceived hopes of supplying. The conspiracy was discovered, and Holophernes imprisoned. Demetrius would have put him to death directly, if he had not judged it more advisable to reserve him, in order to make use of him afterwards in the pretensions he had upon Cappadocia, and the design he had formed of dethroning and destroying Ariarathes: but he was prevented by the plot contrived against him by the three kings of Egypt, Pergamus, and Cappadocia, who set Alexander Bala upon the throne in his stead.

Ariarathes aided the Romans against Aristonicus, who (*e*) had possessed himself of the kingdom of Pergamus, and perished in that war.

He left six children, whom he had by Laodice. The Romans, in gratitude for the father's services, added Lycaonia and Cilicia to their dominions. Laodice, who was regent during the minority of those six princes, apprehending the loss of her authority when they should be at age to reign, poisoned five of them the same year their father died. She had treated the sixth in the same manner, if the vigilance of relations had not removed him from the fury of that unnatural mother. The people set him upon the throne, after having destroyed that cruel murderers of her children.

ARIARATHES VII. (*f*) He married another Laodice, sister of Mithridates Eupator, and had two sons by her, ARIARATHES VIII. and ARIARATHES IX. His brother-in-law caused him to be murdered by Gordius, one of his subjects. Laodice afterwards married Nicomedes king of Bithynia, who immediately took possession of Cappadocia. Mithridates sent an army thither, drove out the garrisons of Nicomedes, and restored the kingdom to his nephew, the son of the same Ariarathes, whom he had caused to be assassinated.

ARI-

(*d*) Justin. l. xxv. c. 1.
Justin. l. xxxvii. c. 11.
Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 1.

(*e*) A. M. 3875. Ant. J. C. 129.
(*f*) A. M. 3913. Ant. J. C. 91.

ARIARATHES VIII. had scarce ascended the throne, when Mithridates pressed him to recall Gordius from banishment, with design to rid himself of the son by the same assassin who had killed the father. That young prince shuddered at the proposal, and raised an army to oppose the violence of his uncle. Mithridates being unwilling to decide his measures by the hazard of a battle, chose rather to draw Ariarathes to a conference, in which he assassinated him with a dagger concealed for that purpose in the view of the two armies. He set his own son of only eight years old in his place, caused him to be called Ariarathes, and gave him Gordius for his governor. (g) The Cappadocians, not being able to bear the vexations of the lieutenants of Mithridates, rose in arms, called in Ariarathes, the late king's brother, from Asia, and placed him upon the throne.

ARIARATHES IX. Soon after his return, Mithridates attacked, overthrew, and expelled him the kingdom. That young prince's grief brought a distemper on him, of which he died soon after. Mithridates had re-established his son upon the throne.

Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, apprehending that Mithridates, being in possession of Cappadocia, might fall upon his dominions, set up an infant of eight years old, to whom he also gave the name of Ariarathes, and sent deputies to the Romans to demand the kingdom of his father in his name. Queen Laodice his wife went expressly to Rome to support the imposture, and to testify that she had three sons by ARIARATHES VII. of whom this, which she produced, was the last. Mithridates, on his side, ventured to have assurances made by Gordius, that this son, whom he had placed upon the throne, was the son of that Ariarathes who had been killed in the war against Aristonicus. What times were these! what a series is here of frauds and impostures! The Roman people saw through them; and, not to support them on either side, decreed that Mithridates should renounce Cappadocia, which for the future should enjoy its liberty, and govern itself as it thought proper. But the Cappadocians sent to Rome to declare that liberty was insupportable to them, and to demand a king. We may justly be astonished at the taste of a people, who could prefer slavery to liberty! but there are capricious and corrupt nations, to which the monarchical is better adapted than the republican government; and there are few people, who are wise enough to make a moderate use of perfect and entire liberty. The

Cap-

Cappadocians elected, or rather received from the Romans, Ariobarzanes for their king, whose family was extinct at the third generation.

ARIOBARZANES I. (i) This new prince did not enjoy his dignity in peace. Mithraas and Bagoas, generals of Tigranes, drove him out of Cappadocia, and re-instated Ariarathes, son of Mithridates. The Romans caused Ariobarzanes to be re-instated. He was expelled some time after by an army sent by Mithridates into Cappadocia in favour of his son. Sylla, having obtained great advantages over Mithridates, compelled him to abandon Cappadocia. Some time after, at the instigation of that prince, Tigranes invaded that kingdom, and carried off 300,000 men, to whom he gave lands in Armenia. (k) Ariobarzanes, who had escaped to Rome before the invasion, was not restored till Pompey had put an end to the war with Mithridates.

ARIOBARZANES II. Pompey had considerably enlarged the dominions of Ariobarzanes, when he replaced him upon the throne of Cappadocia. His son succeeded to all that great inheritance, but did not keep it long. He was killed some time before Cicero went to command in Cilicia. The prince who reigned at that time was ARIOBARZANES III. grandson of ARIOBARZANES I.

ARIOBARZANES III. Cicero (l), upon quitting Rome, had received orders to favour and protect Ariobarzanes with all possible care, as a prince whose welfare was dear to the senate and people: a glorious testimonial, which had never before been granted to any king. Cicero punctually executed the order of the senate. When he arrived in Cilicia, Ariobarzanes was menaced with being killed, as his father had been. A conspiracy was on foot against him, in favour of his brother Ariarathes. The latter declared to Cicero, that he had no part in that plot; that indeed he had been earnestly solicited to accept the kingdom, but that he had always been infinitely averse to such thoughts during the life of his brother who had no issue. Cicero employed the authority of his office, and all the credit his high reputation gave him, to dispel the storm with which the king was threatened. His * endeavours were successful;

(i) A. M. 5955. Ant. J. C. 89. Appian. in Mith. p. 276. Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 3. Plut. in Sylla. (k) A. M. 5958. Ant. J. C. 66. (l) A. M. 5953. Ant. J. C. 54. Cic. Epist. 2. ad Attic. l. v. ad Famil. & Epist. 20. l. v. ad Attic.

* Ariobarzanes opera mea vixit, regnat ex auctoris consilio & auctoritate, & quod proditoribus ejus adversariis me, non modo

ed the king's life and crown by his constancy, and his disinterestedness, which rendered him inaccessible to the attempts that were made to corrupt his integrity or make him change sides. The greatest danger came from the high-priest of Comana. There were two principal kingdoms of that name, the one in Cappadocia, and the other in Pontus (*m*). They were consecrated to the same goddess, and observed almost the same ceremonies in the worship of that goddess. The one was formed upon the model of the other; that of Pontus upon that of Cappadocia. It is of the latter we speak in this place. The temple of that goddess was endowed with great estates, and served a vast number of persons, under the authority of a pontifex, a man of great credit, and so considerable, that only the king was his superior: he was generally of the blood royal, and his dignity was for life. Strabo says, that in his time there were above 6000 persons consecrated to the service of the goddess. From hence the high-priest was so powerful, that in the time of which we speak, might have occasioned a very dangerous war, and involved Ariobarzanes in great difficulties, had he thought proper to defend himself by the use of arms, as it was believed he would: for he had troops, both horse and foot, ready to take the field, with funds to pay and subsist them. But Cicero, by his eloquence, prevailed upon him to retire out of the kingdom, and to leave Ariobarzanes in the peaceable possession of it.

During the civil war between Cæsar and Pompey, Ariobarzanes marched with some troops to the latter, who were defeated at the battle of Pharsalia. This, no doubt, was the reason that Cæsar laid Ariobarzanes under contribution; certain he exacted very considerable sums of money from him (*n*); for that prince represented to him, that it would be impossible for him to pay them, if Pharnaces continued to plunder Cappadocia. Cæsar was then in Egypt, from whence he set out to reduce Pharnaces to reason. He passed through Cappadocia, and made such regulations there, that Ariobarzanes and his brother were in no very good situation.

m) Strabo. l. xii. p. 535, & 557.
n) de Bell. Alex.

(*n*) Cæsar de Bell. Civ.

Cum magnum bellum in Cappadocia concitaretur, si sacerdos is se (quod facturus putabatur) defenderet, adolescens & equitatus reditu & pecunia paratus, & si qui novari aliquid vole-

bant, perfecti ut e regno illi cederet; rexque sine tumultu sine armis, omni auctoritate a communis, regnum cum dignitate obtineret. Cic. *Epi.* 4. xv. *ad Famil.*

understanding, and entirely subjected the latter to the authority of the former. After Cæsar had conquered Pharnaces (c), he gave part of Cilicia and Armenia to Ariobarzanes.

This good treatment (p) gave the murderers of Cæsar reason to believe, that the king of Cappadocia would not favour their party. He did not openly declare against them; but he refused to enter into their alliance. This conduct gave them a just diffidence of him, so that Cassius thought it incumbent upon him not to spare him. He attacked him, and having taken him prisoner, put him to death.

ARIARATHES X. By the death of Ariobarzanes, the kingdom of Cappadocia remained to his brother Ariarathes. The possession of it was disputed with him by Sisinna, the eldest son of Glaphyra, wife of Archelaus, high-priest of Bellona, at Comana in Cappadocia. This Archelaus was the grandson of Archelaus, a Cappadocian by nation, and general of an army in Greece for Mithridates against Sylla. He abandoned the party of Mithridates in the second war, as we shall relate in the twenty-second book (q), and joined the Romans. He left one son, named also Archelaus, who married Berenice, queen of Egypt, and was killed six months after in a battle. He obtained a very honourable dignity of Pompey, which was the high-priesthood of Comana in Cappadocia. His son Archelaus possessed it after him. He married Glaphyra, a lady of extraordinary beauty, and had two sons by her, Sisinna and Archelaus. (r) The first disputed the kingdom of Cappadocia with Ariarathes, who possessed it. Mark Antony was the judge of this difference, and determined it in favour of Sisinna. What became of him is not known; history only tells us, that Ariarathes re-ascended the throne. Five or six years after, Mark Antony expelled him (s), and set Archelaus, the second son of Glaphyra, upon the throne.

ARCHELAUS. (t) That prince became very powerful. He expressed his gratitude to Mark Antony, by joining him with good troops at the battle of Actium. He was fortunate, notwithstanding that conduct, to escape the resentment of Augustus. He was suffered to keep possession of Cappadocia, and was almost the only one treated with so much favour.

He

(c) Diod. l. xlii. p. 185.

Diod. l. xlvii.

(p) A. M. 3962. Ant. J. C. 42.

(q) Strab. l. xii. p. 558. Diod. l. xxxix. p. 176.

(r) A. M. 3963. Ant. J. C. 41. Appian. de Bell. Civ. l. v. p. 673.

(s) A. M. 3968. Ant. J. C. 36. Diod. l. xlix. p. 421.

3971. Ant. J. C. 33. Plut. in Anton. p. 944.

(t) A. M.

He assisted Tiberius (*n*) to re-establish Tigranes in Armenia, and obtained of Augustus, Armenia Minor, and a great part of Cilicia. Tiberius rendered him great services with Augustus, especially when his subjects brought accusations against him before that prince. He pleaded his cause himself, and was the occasion of his gaining it. Archelaus fixed his residence in the island of Eleusis near the coast of Cilicia, and having married Pythodoris, the widow of Polemon king of Pontus, he considerably augmented his power. For as the sons of Polemon were infants at that time, he had undoubtedly the administration of their kingdom jointly with their mother.

His reign was very long and happy: (*x*) but his latter years were unfortunate, in effect of Tiberius's revenge. That prince, who saw with pain, that Caius and Lucius, the sons of Agrippa, grandsons of Augustus, and his sons by adoption, were raised by degrees above him: * to avoid giving umbrage to the two young Cæsars, and to spare himself the mortification of being witnesses to their aggrandisement, demanded and obtained permission to retire to Rhodes, under pretext that he had occasion to withdraw from business and the hurry of Rome for the re-establishment of his health. His retreat was considered as a real banishment, and people began to neglect him as a person in disgrace, and did not believe it safe to appear his friends. † During his stay at Rhodes, king Archelaus, who was not very remote from thence, residing generally at ‡ Eleusis, paid him no honours, forgetting the great obligations he had to him. It was not, says Tacitus, out of pride or haughtiness, but by the advice of Augustus's principal friends, who believed the amity of Tiberius dangerous at that time. On the contrary, when young Caius Cæsar, appointed governor of the east, was sent

(*u*) A. M. 3984. Ant. J. C. 20. Joseph. Antiq. l. xv. c. 5. Diod. l. liv. p. 526. Sueton. in Tib. c. viii. Diod. l. lvii. p. 614. Strab. l. xiv. p. 671. & l. xii. p. 556. (*x*) A. M. 3988. Ant. J. C. 16. Diod. in Excerpt. p. 662. Sueton. in Tib. c. x. Vell. Paterc. l. ii. c. 99.

* Ne su'gor suus orientum juvenum obstaret initiis, dissimulata causa consilii sui, comiteum ab focero atque eodem vitrico acquiescendi a continuatione laborum petiit. Paterc. l. ii. c. 99.

† Rex Archelaus quinquagesimum annum Cappadocia potiebatur, in suus Tiberio, quod eum Rhodi gentem nullo officio coluisset.

Nec id Archelaus per superbiam omiserat, sed ab intimis Augusti monitus; quia florente Caio Cæsare, missoque ad res Orientis, intuta Tiberii amicitia credebatur. Tacit. Annal. l. ii. c. 42.

‡ Eleusis was but six leagues distant from Rhodes. Strab. l. xiv. p. 651.

sent into Armenia by Augustus, to appease the troubles of that country, Archelaus, who looked upon him as the future successor to the empire, paid him all kind of honours, and distinguished himself by the zeal with which he paid his court to him. Politicians are often mistaken in their conjectures, for want of a clear insight into futurity. It had been more consistent with prudence and wisdom in Archelaus to have observed such a conduct as had been agreeable to each of the princes, who might both arrive at the empire. Something of this nature is observed of Pomponius * Atticus, who during the divisions, with which the republick was torn at different times, always knew how to render himself agreeable to both parties.

Tiberius never forgot the injurious preference that had been given to his rival, which was the more offensive to him, as it argued an ungrateful disposition in Archelaus. He made him highly sensible of this when he became master. Archelaus was cited to Rome (a), as having endeavoured to excite troubles in the province. Livia wrote to him, and without dissembling the emperor's anger, gave him hopes of pardon, provided he came in person to demand it. This was a snare laid for drawing him out of his kingdom. The † king of Cappadocia either did not perceive it, or dared not act as if he did. He set out for Rome, was very ill received by Tiberius, and saw himself proceeded against as a criminal. Dion assures us, that Archelaus, depressed with age, was generally believed to have lost his reason; but that in reality he was perfectly in his senses, and counterfeited the madman because he saw no other means of saving his life. The senate passed no sentence against him; but age, the gout, and, more than those, the indignity of the treatment he was made to suffer, soon occasioned his death. He had reigned two-and-fifty years. After his death Cappadocia was reduced into a province of the Roman empire.

This

(a) A. M. 4020. An. Dom. 16.

* Hoc quale sit, facilius existimabit is, qui judicare quantæ sit sapientiæ, eorum retinere usum benevolentiamque inter quos maximarum rerum non solum ænualatio, sed obtestatio tanta intercedebat, quantum fuit incidere necesse inter Cæsarem atque Antonium, cum se uterque principem non solum urbis Romanæ sed orbis terrarum esse cuperet. *Corn.*

Nep. in Attic. c. xx.

† Ille ignarus doli, vel, si intelligere videretur, vim metuens, in urbem properat: exceptusque immitti a principe, & mox accusatus a senatu; non ob crimina, quæ fingebantur, sed angore, senilis senio, & quia regibus æquæ nedum infima, insolita sunt, sine vitæ sponte an fato inlevit. *Tac. Annal. l. ii. c. 42.*

This kingdom was very powerful. The revenues of Cappadocia were so considerable when Archelaus died, that Tiberius thought himself able, from his new acquisition, to abate the half of a tax he had caused to be levied. He even gave that province some relief, and would not exact from it all the duties it had paid the last king.

The kings of Cappadocia generally resided at Mazaca (*b*), a city situate upon the mountain Argea, and was governed by the laws of * Charondas. This city was built upon the river Melas, which empties itself into the Euphrates. A king of Cappadocia, whom Strabo only calls Ariarathes, without mentioning the time when he lived, having filled up the mouths of this river, it overflowed all the neighbouring country; after which he caused small islands to be made in it, after the manner of the Cyclades, where he passed part of his life in puerile diversions. The river broke the dams of its mouths, and the waters returned into their channel. The Euphrates having received them, overflowed, and did incredible damages in Cappadocia. The Galatians, who inhabited Phrygia, suffered also great losses by that torrent, for which they insisted upon being made amends. They demanded 300 talents of the king of Cappadocia, and made the Romans their judges.

Cappadocia abounded with horses, asses (*c*), and mules. It was from thence the horses were brought so particularly allotted for the use of the emperors, that the consuls themselves were forbid to have any of them. It furnished also great numbers of † slaves and false witnesses. The Cappadocians were reported to accustom themselves to the bearing of torments from their infancy, and to put one another to the question by the rack and other methods of torture, in order to inure themselves against the pains their false witness might one day expose them to suffer. This people exceeded the Greek nation in perjury (*d*), though the latter had carried that vice to a great height, if we may believe Cicero, who ascribes to them the having made this manner of speaking common amongst them; *Lend me your evidence* (*e*), and *I'll pay you with mine*.

Cappadocia, generally speaking, was far from being a country of great geniuses and learned men. It has produced

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duced

(*b*) Strab. l. 12. p. 537, 539.

(*c*) Boch. Phaleg. l. iii. c. 11.

Schol. Persii.

(*d*) Cic. pro Flac. n. 9, 10.

(*e*) *Da mihi*

supplicium mutuum.

* This Charondas was a celebrated legislator of Græcia Major, of whom mention has been made.

† Mancipii locuples eget ærie Cappadocum rex. Horat.



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